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PLO Blames Israel for Assassination Attempt

The PLO blames Israel for the August 17 assassination attempt against Palestinian military leader Zaki al-Hilu in Madrid. Al-Hilu, 44, who was identified as the commander of special units in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), is reported to be in a serious condition as a result of bullet wounds in his neck. His condition is reportedly improving.

The Palestinian commander, also known by the code name Abu Said, was fired at by two gunmen riding a motorcycle and using handguns equipped with silencers. The attack took place as al-Hilu left his hotel in Madrid for the first time since arriving in Spain. *Reuters* speculated that he was closely followed by his assassins, who fled before the police arrived. Two other people who were in the car with Abu Said were unharmed.

According to medical reports, Abu Said's condition has improved a little and he regained consciousness and has begun to move and breathe normally.

The PLO office in Spain accused the Israeli Mossad of responsibility for the attack. In a statement issued to the press, the PLO office said the attempt against Abu Said was part of an Israeli attempt to liquidate Palestinian leaders.

An Islamic group calling itself the Islamic Revolutionary Vanguard, which is associated with Iran, claimed responsibility for the attack. An anonymous caller telephoned Kuwaiti newspapers and said the attack was in retaliation for the victim's connections with Iraq. Observers dismissed this claim as false since the PFLP severed relations with Iraq in 1981.

During the past three years, seven attacks have been carried out against Arab nationals. Nabil Wadi, a member of the Palestine Liberation Front, was killed by gunmen, as yet unidentified, in 1982. (Translation: Al Mithaq, The Jerusalem Post, Al Sha'ab, August 20, 1984)

Gaza Youth Shot

Israeli soldiers shot and wounded a Palestinian youth from Jabalia refugee camp, north of Gaza, August 19. Israeli military sources said that the soldiers fired at him after they suspected him of throwing stones at them.

Akram Abdallah Abu Rukbeh, 21, was injured in the left leg from a bullet. He was transferred to the government-run Shifa hospital in Gaza where he remains in good condition. A source in the hospital said that Israeli soldiers have questioned the youth, and had a policeman posted at the door of his room. It is likely that he will be arrested after he is able to leave the hospital.

In another incident last week, two Molotov cocktails were thrown at an Israeli taxi in the Gaza market area August 19. Israeli military sources who reported the incident, said that there were no casualties or damage.

Meanwhile, Israel Radio reported on the same day that the Israeli authorities expelled 15 volunteers from West Germany who were doing voluntary work in Gaza. The Israeli authorities claimed that their presence in the city would be "provocative." (Translation: Al Fajr, Al Quds, August 20, 1984)

Thousands Work Hard in Nazareth Voluntary Work Camp

One million dollars is the assessed value of four days' work at Nazareth's Ninth Voluntary Work Camp, in which more than 10,000 Arab and Jewish residents, as well as foreign delegates, participated in 107 projects at 120 Nazareth sites.

The Arab Nazareth municipality organises the annual work camp, calling upon supporters to assist Nazareth in its development projects and to help the municipality, which is deprived of proper government funding, to cover some of its needs. Volunteers included workers from 43 Arab villages — West Bank, Golan Heights, Gaza Strip — along with 100 Israelis and 200 foreigners.

The camp's achievements were many and included: a second floor for the municipal cultural centre; preparation of the "G" secondary school as club headquarters for the eastern quarter; the paving of a 175-metre-long road; the paving of Mar Yousef school road; the opening of a road in the city; the paving of schoolyards and the painting of school walls; the tiling of a crossroads; the laying of 20 water pipelines; and the building of a large number of retaining walls.

Not all was in the spirit of achievement, however. On Friday August 17, Israeli authorities raided houses in Nazareth and the city's area of Yaffa in search of West Bank volunteers who participated in the work. They arrested 17 West Bankers and those families hosting them. The volunteers were released once they had been taken to the West Bank town of Jenin, but will be brought to court on charges of violating regulations by sleeping inside the 'green line.'

The next day, four buses full of West Bank volunteers and a music group were prevented from entering Nazareth. A statement was issued by camp organisers and distributed among volunteers affirming that the police attack will never defeat the will of the people. The statement condemned the attack as part of the conspiracies against the Nazareth municipality.

A construction contractor from Dhahriyeh village near Hebron told *Al Fajr* that the reply to these harassments should be to bring more volunteers from the West Bank. Qassem Shaba'an, a film director from Haifa who photographed the four-day event, told *Al Fajr*: "It is a scandal what they did." Twenty volunteers, among them a Cypriot journalist, were arrested, beaten and accused of having thrown stones and raised a Palestinian flag. They denied the charges and were later released.

An interesting feature of the camp was the large number of foreign delegations. Samih Ghanadra, head of the foreign delegations committee, told *Al Fajr*, "We received 11 delegations from Europe and the United States. A socialist delegation from Bulgaria attended the voluntary work camp for the first time. Foreign delegations were taken to visit Arabeh and Sakhnin, along with Galilee villages. Another trip to Acre and the Galilee was planned for the delegations."

While in Nazareth camp, several meetings between the foreign delegations and prominent figures from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, local village council heads and Jewish Democratic forces were held. Foreigners were eager to learn the political analyses and assessments of the Palestinian

cause. They were also interested in the various perspectives on political settlements. They wanted to know about the impact of the split within the PLO upon Palestinian society. Foreign delegations were also given detailed accounts of discrimination between Arabs and Jews, and reports of the aggressive stand of Kahane and his supporters against the Palestinian population.

During the daytime, volunteers met and exchanged their political views and ideas. But at night, at least 10,000 to 15,000 persons attended the various entertainment festivals planned by camp organisers. Events included poetry reading, singing, music and *dabkeh* dances. A book exhibition included hundreds of books. Children's paintings were also exhibited at the campsite by Israeli artist Miriam Sharon.

Volunteers celebrated the camp's completion at the Nazareth Secondary School's yard, where they heard speeches delivered by Nazareth mayor Tawfiq Zayyad and his deputy Ramez Jarayseh. Zayyad told volunteers: "Our people will never be defeated. Their patience and steadfastness are guarantees for their victory against Kahane and his supporters." And in words directed at the foreign delegations, he said: "Form committees in solidarity with Nazareth in your homeland. We will continue to bridge links of struggle and friendship between you and our people." A Cypriot spokesperson attending the camp said: "We came here to express our solidarity with Nazareth and its municipality. We found a language of friendship, peace, work and progress with you."

Jarayseh said that the Nazareth municipality will begin immediately its preparations for the tenth annual work camp.

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Leaders Confirm September PNC

Representatives of the Palestinian Democratic Alliance (PDA) and the Fatah Movement issued a joint statement in Algiers August 19, proposing to convene the 17th Palestine National Council session before mid-September. The call was criticised by the opposition National Palestinian Alliance.

The statement was issued at the end of a two-day meeting between the four component organisations of the PDA and Fatah Movement to discuss ways to implement the Aden agreement. The statements reaffirmed their committment to the Aden agreement, and emphasised the importance of restoring relations with Syria and with the National Lebanese Movement. They also praised the proposal to hold an international peace conference to solve the Palestinian problem and called for stronger ties with the leaders of the socialist countries.

The Aden agreement, which was concluded in Aden, South Yemen, last July, set the principles for reuniting the PLO and preventing its split.

Meanwhile, Palestinian sources in Algiers reported that the general secretaries of the four PDA organisations — George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Nayef Hawatmeh of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), Tala'at Yacoub of the Palestine Liberation Front (PLF), and Suleiman Najjab of the Palestine Communist Party (PCP) — and Yasir Arafat, head of the Fatah Movement, are going to meet somewhere in the near future in order to discuss setting a date for the next PNC session.

The announcement about holding the 17th PNC session was strongly criticised by the opposition Palestine National Alliance, which is made up of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine — General Command (PFLP-GC), the Saiqa Organisation, the Fatah dissident group and the Palestine Struggle Front. In a press conference held in Damascus August 20, the leaders of the four groups announced their opposition to convening the PNC before a national consensus is reached. They also warned that such a step would result in splitting the PLO. The four leaders also reiterated their opposition to Arafat's leadership and said that he has lost his legitimacy since his trip to Cairo.

Tripoli Caught in Militia Fighting

Bloody fighting between rival militias in Tripoli continued *this week with casualties esti*mated at 100 dead and 300 injured. The heaviest fighting, shattering a 19-hour cease fire agreement, took place August 22 in the Qubah quarter between anti- and pro-Syrian forces. During a two-hour battle more than 16 were killed and tens of Lebanese injured.

All attempts to stop the fighting have failed. The Higher Coordination Committee, headed by Lebanese Prime Minister Rashid Karameh, has been unable to enforce a permanent cease fire. The committee, which consists of the various political forces in Tripoli, has made contact with the warring militias to no avail.

The militias fighting in Tripoli are the Islamic Unification movement, an anti-Syrian force, and the Arab Democratic movement from the pro-Syrian camp. The Islamic fundamentalist movement has been in opposition to Syria since the Syrian army evicted Islamic fundamentalists from north Syria. Their hatred of Syria also stems from the Syrian massacre of thousands of fundamentalists in Hamah. *The movement is opposed both* to the current Syrian regime and to Syrian presence in Lebanon.

The pro-Syrian Arab Democratic movement opposes the Islamic fundamentalists. The Red Knights militias, part of the pro-Syrian camp, are said to be spearheading the attacks on the anti-Syrian group. According to press reports from Lebanon, the warring factions fight with automatic weapons, artillery shells, mortars and rockets. Almost all of Tripoli's half million residents have been affected by the indiscriminate shelling. Fresh appeals for blood donations of all types blare from loudspeakers on circling vans.

On the political front, calls for an end to the fighting stemmed from all parts of Lebanon. Lebanese Sunni *Mufti* Hassan Khaled appealed to Syrian President Hafez Assad to do all he can to stop the fighting.

News reports from Lebanon and Syria talked of a possible summit meeting soon between the Syrian president and the Lebanese president.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 225, August 24, 1984:

Number of original articles submitted to censors	**14**
Number of articles totally censored out	**4**
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	**1**
Number of articles partially censored but used	**2**
Number of articles passed	**7**

King Hussein Calls for International Peace Conference

Less than one month after the Soviet Union called for an international conference to solve the Palestinian problem, King Hussein of Jordan issued a similar call August 18. Unlike its Soviet counterpart, the Jordanian king's proposal is based on UN Security Council Resolution 242, which does not recognise the Palestinian people's right to self determination.

Speaking with the *American Cable News Network* (CNN), King Hussein said his proposal must be based on Security Council Resolution 242, which calls for Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories in exchange for peace. King Hussein also asserted that the resolution guarantees the rights of all states in the region to live in peace. The Jordanian monarch, however, criticised Resolution 242, saying it stood short of proposing a complete solution to the Palestinian problem. He added vaguely that the missing points must be added to it.

King Hussein proposed that all five permanent members of the UN Security Council participate in the conference as well as the Palestinians. However, he did not say who would represent the Palestinians.

Speaking on the US role in a Middle East settlement, Hussein appeared critical and he specifically attacked the US's failure to conclude a settlement in the region and warned that time was running out for peace. He also said he does not see why the US insists on being the only peacemaker in the region and refuses to search for another one through an international conference.

Bashir Barghouthi, editor of *Al Talia* weekly, described King Hussein's proposals as an indication of the failure of US schemes to solve the Palestinian problem. The al-Bireh figure, however, says that King Hussein is still hoping that the US will change its stand concerning the Arab and Palestinian people. He believes that King Hussein has revealed his real motives and is attempting to rob the PLO of its right to represent the Palestinian people.

Barghouthi attacked Hussein's simplistic demand of exchanging land for peace, and said that this ignores the basic right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state. He noted that Hussein has only now realised (after 17 years of occupation) that the solution to the Palestinian problem comes through an international conference. Barghouthi believes, however, that Hussein is merely using his call for a conference as a way to force the US to change its position and offer the king some kind of deal.

The communist daily *Al Ittihad* blasted the US with an editorial entitled "Even King Hussein Criticises America." *Al Ittihad* wrote: "If further proof is needed on the failure of American Middle East policy and the individual 'solutions,' it is the statements of King Hussein to an American TV network, in which he said that the US is no longer capable of being a mediator."

Israeli Military Maneuvers Scare Lebanese Residents

In an attempt to terrorise residents of south Lebanon, the Israeli army staged manoeuvres August 21 using live ammunition in the Zahrani region. Israeli gunboats and cruisers participated in the manoeuvres, which included landing paratroopers and marines. Israeli planes also made mock raids, in which planes dropped five heat balloons over the town of Sidon and surrounding villages.

Prime Minister Rashid Karameh decided August 22 (after meeting with the Lebanese cabinet) to file a complaint with the United Nations Security Council against Israeli repression measures in south Lebanon.

The Israeli authorities accelerated their collective punishment measures against south Lebanon by separating it from the rest of Lebanon. The Israelis closed the crossing point August 21 at Batir al-Shouf, northeast of Jezzin. Authorities claimed that the crossing, the only one active between north and south Lebanon, was closed for repairs. They also justified the closure by claiming that several booby-trapped vehicles discovered recently in south Lebanon had infiltrated from the north. Neither private cars nor trucks were permitted to cross into the south.

Military Resistance

Several separate attacks involving hand grenades, Katyusha rockets and remote-control bombs were aimed at Israeli military postions in south Lebanon between August 17 and 21. The Israelis claim there were no casualties.

A remote-controlled explosive charge was detonated east of Sidon at Tal Mar Elias August 21 when an Israeli military vehicle passed by. During the same night, a hand grenade was thrown at an Israeli vehicle travelling on the southern Lebanese coast. Israeli military sources reported that soldiers returned fire and suffered no casualties.

Nationalist commandos waged two attacks against Israeli military targets August 20. An Israeli vehicle passing by Burj Mali refugee camp, near Tyre, came under RPG and automatic rifle fire. The Israeli military spokesperson said that Israeli soldiers returned fire. After the attack, soldiers combed the area and discovered a number of RPG shells. An explosive device was also detonated when an Israeli military vehicle drove through the Deir Kanoun region, 15 kilometres southeast of Tyre.

August 19 Lebanese national fighters ambushed an Israeli military vehicle in an area located two kilometres south of Lake Kar'oun, in the eastern sector. They fired a Katyusha rocket against an Israeli military position northwest of Tyre. Three mortar shells were also fired.

August 17 a bazooka was fired at an Israeli military position in a region located eight kilometres north of the village Tibnin, in the central sector of Lebanon. The same day, nationalist commandos opened light weapons fire against Israeli military positions near Kfar Kook, on the eastern front.

Students Angry Over Comprehensive Exam

West Bank Vocational and Community College students were divided over the issue of attending the recent four-day comprehensive examinations first instituted by Jordanian education authorities three years ago. The centralised exams started August 20 in various towns of the West Bank.

Students who walked out on the exams clashed with soldiers, particularly in the Ramallah district in the first three days of the exam.

Israeli civil administration sources were quoted in Israeli papers as saying that 1000 students have not yet registered for the exams. The exam is offered annually to students who have completed two years of study at local junior colleges. Another 1000 students have registered for the exam, ending a three-year period of strikes and protest against the enforcement of the comprehensive exams.

Four hundred students gathered at the halls of Hashmieh Secondary School and Ramallah Elementary School and tore up exam questionaires in protest August 20. The next day students boycotted the examinations. When they left exam halls, soldiers arrested 18 students including three women. They were accused of incitement and throwing stones.

On the third day, August 22, only 40 students from the Ramallah district out of 400 sat for the comprehensive exam. A small incident was reported in Hebron at the Women's Secondary School hall August 20. Three or four students attempted to enter the hall. One student, Ghassan Sharif, was arrested on suspicion of throwing stones and creating disruptions at the school. Sharif, who is still in jail, reportedly denied that he prevented students from taking their exams.

A teacher from Hebron, who refused to reveal his name, told *Al Fajr* that students should sit for the comprehensive exam. It is impossible for them to find jobs if they do not get the endorsed certificate from the inistry of education in Amman. Students who boycotted the comprehensive exams said the Jordanian ministry of education imposed the exam and the 'civil administration' implemented it. Students believe that sitting for the comprehensive exam will give Israeli authorities the opportunity to interfere in their education. Jordanian authorities froze the exam in 1982 but refused to cancel it in 1983 and 1984.

Modern Community College students meeting at a conference held August 18 in Beitunia to discuss the comprehensive exam. Hundreds of students boycotted the Jordanian-sponsored test.

Court Issues Fourth 'Stop Work' Order

A three-person Israeli High Court panel issued a fourth injunction August 23 against the Israeli military commander, the Israeli police chief, the Emanuel settlement and the Kochav Hasharon Construction Company ordering them to stop work immediately on the lands of Palestinian Seif al-Rahman Bahlul from the village of Deir Astiya, near Tulkarm. The order was issued a fourth time, following three previous court injunctions which were not enforced.

After reading the decision aloud, the claimant's attorney, Jawad Bulos, expressed his concern that the Israeli authorities will once again not carry out the court's instructions. When the ranking judge demanded an explanation from state representative Renato Jarach, he said that the military governor did not have the ability to enforce the order. This angered the High Court panel and the court president reprimanded Jarach, saying that the military government, which has both legislative and executive powers, should be capable of enforcing the High Court's decision. The judge said he agreed with attorney Bulos, who said that if an Arab had broken the law, the military government would have found a way to stop him. The judge went on to demand that the state representative make copies of the court decision and asked him to be personally responsible for the text of the decision reaching all parties involved.

Attorney Jawad Bulos, working out of advocate Felicia Langer's office, had petitioned the High Court to order the army and police to explain their failure in evicting the trespassing settlers and Israeli construction company from his client's property. Bulos argued in his petition that the authorities' actions are in breach of local law and the 1907 Hague Convention, which states that any occupying power should maintain law and order as far as possible in respect of local laws.

Dheisheh Youth Club Opened Temporarily

As a result of damage caused during a robbery, the Dheisheh Youth Centre temporarily reopened August 21 for repairs and a cleanup, according to a ruling by the Israeli authorities.

The youth club, which has been closed for over two years, was finally reopened and over 100 volunteers representing local voluntary groups went in and began a cleanup campaign.

Arab Workers Get the Axe

The secretariat of the Kedumim settlement [built on Kufr Kaddoum land near Nablus] has decided to dismiss all the Arab workers employed there in industry and services.

An *Itim* correspondent reports that the decision states that jobs must be vacated for Jews.

In the [northern West Bank] settlements, many Arabs are employed in construction, industry and services, and Kedumim is the first settlement to take such a step. (Translation: HaAretz, August 21, 1984)

Bulldozers at Work in Battir

Israeli bulldozers are busy working Battir lands in the Bethlehem district which were recently confiscated under the pretext that they are state property.

Scores of settlers accompanied by Israeli border guards and officials of the Israeli archaeological department constructed two rooms August 20 on 100 dunums of land.

The four Battir families — Oweina, Butma, Abu Harthia and Abu Ne'imeh — who own the 100-dunum plot are preparing their land registration documents to file complaints to the Israeli Supreme Court.

The plots of land are planted with olive, fig, vine and almond trees. Settlers' vehicles roam all over the land and they have pressured residents of the confiscated land to help settlers working on the land.

Residents of Hawara and Ein Jama'a, also in the Bethlehem district, said settlers are also inspecting an area of 1500 dunums for possible confiscation. (Translation: Al Mithaq, August 21, 1984)

ARAB JOURNALISTS CONDEMN DECISION TO MEET IN JERUSALEM

"The Palestinian, Syrian, Lebanese and Jordanian journalists unions issued separate statements last week condemning the decision by the International Journalists Union (IJU) to hold its next bureau meeting in Jerusalem this November.

"In a letter sent August 21 to the IJU, Mohammed Ba'albaki, head of the Lebanese Journalists Union, conveyed his union's rejection of the decision and warned that several journalists unions, particularly Arab ones, will boycott the meeting. He also sent letters to the various Arab journalists unions urging them to mobilise their effort in order to counter this decision, in an attempt to repeal it.

"Mahmoud al-Kayed, head of the Jordanian Journalists Union, had earlier condemned the IJU step, describing it as a provocation to all journalists, particularly Arab journalists.

"Both the Palestinian and Syrian journalists unions issued statements condemning the decision and calling on other unions to confront the IJU.

"The International Journalists Union represents journalists from western countries and several journalists unions from developing countries." (Translation: Al Sha'ab, August 23, 1984)

STRIKE AT EIN AL-HILWEH CAMP

EIN AL-HILWEH — A one-day strike was declared August 15 at Ein al-Hilweh refugee camp in south Lebanon to protest the killing of a camp resident and th kidnapping of his son. Local residents hold Israel and the Israeli-backed militias responsible for seven assassinations in the camp in one month.

Unidentified people broke into the house of a Palestinian resident, Abu Mohammed Iyad, shot him dead and kidnapped his son. Residents of the camp staged a demonstration to protest arbitrary measures against them.

630 DETAINEES AT ANSAR

ANSAR — The International Red Cross reported in its monthly bulletin that the number of detainees at the south Lebanon Israeli detention camp, al-Ansar, is 630. The committee said its members visited the camp July 5.

They complained that they were not allowed to visit all the Israeli detention centres in south Lebanon and expressed their worry at the various pressures and terrorism to which some residents from south Lebanon are subjected.

First Palestine Culture Week in Taibeh

The first annual Palestine Culture Week opened in the village of Taibeh in the Triangle August 20 with a large display of folklore costumes and other traditional items. The festival will run for one week until August 27.

Thousands of Taibeh residents took part in the opening ceremony Monday evening in the Taibeh Secondary School's yard. A number of prominent figures participated in the opening, including the local council's head Abd al-Latif Habib and Saleh Baransi, director of the Centre for Reviving Palestinian Culture, which organised the festival.

Habib addressed the crowd first, pointing to the role of heritage in society. He said that folklore is the symbol of our nation, with a culture and civilisation developed over a number of generations. Habib revealed that the local council was pressured by "certain government circles" to refrain from participating in the festival. He not only reiterated the council's commitment to the folklore festival, but also demanded that all schools incorporate cultural studies into the curriculum.

Saleh Baransi spoke about the role which the Centre for Reviving Palestinian Culture plays in preserving Palestinian national identity. Baransi said that the centre is making plans to teach culture studies in high schools in the Arab sector and that they are going to send letters to local councils asking them to sponsor such a programme.

The culture week contains a number of model buildings representing an Arab market, where a variety of clay, ceramic, glass and copper pots are displayed. A sample of the display includes a coffee service composed of a copper coffee pot, a grill for boiling the coffee, a copper plate and ceramic cups. In another section, several traditional Palestinian dresses decorated with embroidery are displayed.

The exhibit includes a special section highlighting the atrocities committed against the Palestinian people. This display contains a large wooden map of Palestine and artwork portraying the massacres of Kufr Qasem, Deir Yasin, Qibyah, and Sabra and Shatila. In a separate exhibit stands a model Palestinian home complete with furnishings a family would normally use, such as kitchenware, plates, bamboo furniture, and the digging and ploughing equipment important to every farming peasant. Outside the home is a model clay oven *(taboun)* and water well. The festival also contains a show of local Palestinian artwork.

Arab-American Youth Tour West Bank

Thirteen Arab American university students visited Jordan and the occupied territories from July 23 to August 21. The tour, sponsored by the Arab-American University Graduates Association for the fifth year in a row, included visits to national institutions, meetings with leading Palestinians and participation in the Nazareth work camp.

In Jordan, the group met with Jordanian officials and Palestinian personalities.

In the occupied territories, the group met with Bassam Shaka'a, elected mayor of Nablus, and with engineers at the Nablus electric company. The students also met Palestinian artists, women representatives, economists and agriculturalists. They spent their evenings at the Bir Zeit Festival and the Nuzha/El-Hakawati theatre, and toured a Jewish settlement.

David Hall, a music student at the Manhattan School of Music and a member of the delegation, told *Al Fajr* that he "was impressed with the way Palestinians in the occupied territories are managing to hold together in spite of a lack of national institutions."

Hall, whose mother is of Lebanese origin, said he would like to come back next summer and that "for most of us who are second and third generation Arabs, it was a meaningful experience to acquaint ourselves better with the culture of our grandparents." Members of the AAUG student delegation said that they will return to the United States with plans to be more active in disseminating information about life in the Middle East in general and the occupied territories in particular.

Labour Government Possible

Ezer Weizman's signing of an accord, August 22, permanently linking his Yahad party (three seats) to Labour (44 seats) killed Likud hopes to form the next Israeli government (Likud has only four seats). Weizman's decision, which came as a surprise to Likud, will pave the way for the Labour Alignment to form a minority government in case talks with Likud for a national unity government fail. Shinui (three seats) and Citizen's Rights Movement (three seats) are also committed to Labour. Sixty-one seats are needed for a simple majority in the Israeli Knesset's 120-seat parliament.

Israeli press reports predicted that Likud will now soften its position on the issues of settlements and talks with Jordan's King Hussein in order to stay in the government. These two issues were the major points of disagreement between the Alignment and Likud in earlier talks for a unity government.

Meanwhile, Labour leader and prime minister-designate, Shimon Peres, will continue talks with religious parties to convince them to join a minority government. *The Jerusalem Post* quoted Labour Party sources August 23 as saying that "the participation of Yahad would lead to the addition of one of the religious parties — and once one had joined, most of the others would follow suit."

A narrow Alignment-led government would expect support in the Knesset from the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality (DFPE) (four seats) and the newly-formed Progressive List for Peace (PLP) (two seats) although neither party would be given ministerial posts.

The Communist daily *Al Ittihad* quoted the head of the DFPE, MK Meir Wilner, as saying that the Front does not belong to any party. Wilner gave six conditions for supporting what *Al Ittihad* called "a government opposed to the Likud and the fanatical right." Included in the six conditions are immediate Israeli army withdrawal from Lebanon and accepting an UN-sponsored international peace conference in the Middle East. Labour is opposed to such a conference.

Radio Israel reported August 23 that Weizman and Yigael Hurvitz's Ometz Party are concentrating efforts on persuading the National Religious Party, Mifdal (four seats), to join an Alignment-led minority government. Mifdal, led by interior and religious affairs minister Yosef Burg is insisting on joining only a national unity government. The other two religious parties, Shas (four seats) and Agudat Yisrael (two seats) are strong backers of a Likud-led government.

In spite of the optimism in the Alignment, they will need one more vote to tip the 61-seat balance in their favour if talks with any of the religious parties fail. That vote is expected to come from Aharon Abuhatzeira's Tami Party (one seat). Abuhatzeira, who was earlier convicted on charges of corruption and abuse of public money, is in an alliance with Yahad and Ometz and his support is almost guaranteed. He will ask for the religious party portfolio.

However, *The Jerusalem Post* quoted senior Tami sources as saying that "its members are about evenly split on whether to support a coalition that would require the votes of the Communist-dominated DFPE and the (Arab-Jewish) PLP."

Weizman's support of the Alignment has guaranteed three Knesset seats in the 12th Knesset elections on the Alignment list. Weizman has requested the fifth position on the Alignment list for himself.

Former Village League Head and Sons Sentenced

Israeli military court in Ramallah convicted Bishara Qumsieh, former head of the Bethlehem area Village League, and his four sons of several crimes, including attempting to murder political enemies. They were given sentences ranging between three months and two years.

Among other charges, the five Leaguers were convicted of placing a bomb at the house door of Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij and burning a number of cars in Beit Sahour early this year. Several other charges which appeared in the charge sheet were dropped or minimised in a plea bargaining agreement with the prosecution. Among the changes was the dropping of the name of Elias Freij as the target of the bombing attempt and the replacing of it with "local resident."

At the time of their arrest, the five Leaguers were questioned on several other charges, including stealing an Uzi submachine gun and planning to kill Israeli policemen. It is not known whether these charges were dropped in the plea bargaining or not.

The heaviest sentence was for Bishara Qumsieh, who was given two years actual imprisonment and five years suspended sentence. Samir, the League head, was sentenced to three months. Three other sons — Samer, Yasir and Taysir — were given sentences ranging between one year to 18 months.

The Qumsiehs were arrested last June 21 after another Leaguer under arrest confessed that Bishara Qumsieh had ordered him to kill an Arab policeman and an Israeli police officer.

The Village Leagues were established under the patronage of Israeli authorities in 1977 as possible political boosters for the Camp David 'autonomy' scheme. The Leagues, armed and financed by Israel, failed to draw any public support and incurred the criticism of the liberal Israeli press. Israeli military authorities gradually dropped their support of the seven Leagues and by the beginning of 1984 they had virtually disappeared.

Martyr's Mother Wants Grandson Back

Jamilah Abd al-Matlab Darwish, the mother of martyr Samir Darwish, asked the Israeli interior minister to allow her to have her grandson Shafik back with her in Acre.

The request was included in a letter sent by advocate Jawad Bulos to the Israeli interior minister in which he asserted that the child's grandmother is the legal guardian according to the decision of the Islamic courts in Sidon and Acre.

The advocate said in his letter that his client had brought her grandson to Acre November 11, 1983, after the Islamic court in Sidon ruled that the child should remain with her. She and the child then crossed the Israeli-Lebanese borders without being intercepted by officials at the crossing point. The child remained with his grandmother until July 14, 1983, when his grandmother had to return him to his mother at the request of the police and Nissim Danna, an official in the interior ministry office in Haifa.

Advocate Jawad Bulos said he disapproved of the behaviour of the police and the interior ministry because the case of nursing the child had already been looked into by legal bodies. Therefore, he said, the behaviour of the officials contradicts the decisions of these legal bodies and the interests of the child.

He made it clear that the child's mother had given up her right of nursing the child before the Islamic court in Sidon and that she did not ask to have her child back when she visited Acre last year, in spite of tremendous pressure by the police. What adds to the child's tragedy is that his mother is now completely paralysed and he has been sent to an orphanage in Sidon. Advocate Bulos concluded by calling on the minister to follow the law and his conscience and to agree to his client's request to return her grandson to her as soon as possible.

The Dawn
AL FAJR
AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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The Reagan Plan Hides in the Wings

The Republican convention in Dallas, Texas made no mention of Reagan's plan for peace in the Middle East in their platform because they wanted to satisfy the friends of Israel.

We would like to point out that Reagan's peace plan was rejected by some Arab countries and was strongly rejected by the Palestinians because it was disappointing and did not meet the Palestinian demands for:

* Israeli withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967.

* Recognition of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and to an independent state.

* PLO participation in any negotiations and efforts to settle the conflict in the region.

Reagan's plan was merely a desperate attempt by the US following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. The US then thought that the PLO was no longer capable of challenging American designs in the area. The US was betting on the 'moderate Arab countries.'

The best example of American discredit was illustrated in this absence of any mention of Reagan's plan in the Republican party's platform.

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Arab Unity Is the Peoples Struggle

Arab unity is an important national issue that cannot be turned into a mere political tool in the hands of any Arab ruler. But today it has become so at the hand of Mu'ammar al-Qaddafi. Unfortunately, Qaddafi is playing with this tool at will. He has experimented with Syria, Tunis, Algeria... and finally with Hassan II of Morocco.

So, Arab unity has been reduced to a mere statement issued at the end of a closed meeting between a president and a king! The people have nothing to do but to show contempt for such a statement.

Despite this, we believe in the necessity of taking practical steps towards Arab unity and in the necessity of continuing dialogue. But we wouldn't allow unity to become a bridge for temporary interests and political axis in the area.

The question is: Why is Qaddafi abusing the most important Arab issue? Why does he hide behind the unity slogan at a time when all his deeds are anti-Arab and contrary to the Arab liberation movement? Is he haunted? Or is it his aspiration of claiming the leadership role for the Arabs from "the Ocean to the Gulf?"

We won't discuss hallucination or diseases.

But we'd like to say that the road to Arab unity is quite clear. It cannot be within palaces but through national struggle by the people.

AL FAJR
August 16

Lebanese Regime Abusing the Security Plan

The Lebanese army is entering Burj al-Barajneh now under the pretext of 'containing' the clashes which erupted between Fatah elements and the dissidents. The Lebanese army is searching the camp now...why?

We believe this search operation is not aimed at finding weapons and confiscating them. The Lebanese army is doing this in accordance with the security plan for greater Beirut.

We would like to ask:

* How long will it be before innocent people fall into the hands of suspicious circles looking for a 'justification' to raid their house and tamper with their property?

* Is the Lebanese regime, which has plans to eliminate the Palestinians from Lebanon, sending its agents to stir up incidents in this Palestinian place so that the regime can use the dissidents as tools to carry out its plans?

AL FAJR
August 18

No Need to Watch US Elections

The official Arab betting on the Ma'arach has now failed after all traditional differences between the Ma'arach and the Likud have been cancelled by the Ma'arach itself. Some Arab governments will have to wait for the outcome of the American elections if they want.

Their failure in betting on the Ma'arach and their wait for the outcome of the American elections will change nothing.

Still, there are variables in the region. Foremost among them is the loss of American credibility, even among the pro-American moderate regimes. These Arab regimes supported the Soviet initiative for an international peace conference.

The second change is the growing relationship between these moderate Arab regimes and the Soviet Union.

Palestinian national unity will be at the top of these variables, locally and internationally.

All these variables should bear fruit so that a new march will emerge.

AL FAJR
August 21

AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

An Israeli Soldier's A-Z of the Racist State

by Kobi Niv

Sephardi Jewish children in an Israeli *ma'abara* (transit camp) after arriving in Palestine. Sephardim face social and economic disadvantages which at the same time make them defensive towards Ashkenazi paternalism and aggressively right-wing.

These subjective and selective notes should not be seen as an attempt to determine any 'scientific' position. Everything here is my own work and mine alone, from one reserve unit in the Israeli Defence Force (IDF).

Some Words to the People's Credit

The people, as distinct from the politicians, understand what the central problem is in the State of Israel. There were some discussions on economic problems, on what is called the community gap, on state and religion, but every time the discussions returned to one problem — Jews and Arabs, Jews and Arabs, Jews and Arabs.

Some Words to the People's Discredit

If a referendum was carried out in my unit to determine the future of the Arabs of Israel and the occupied territories, I think that the results would be: they should live here [including the Arabs of Israel] as second-class citizens (75 percent); they should be expelled on lorries or other forms of transport (25 percent).

Other proposals (autonomy, a Palestinian state next to the state of Israel, equal rights, etc.] all together would not reach one percent.

It Makes No Difference — the Voting Was Communal

Is it possible to determine how a person voted in the elections by his/her skin colour?

An ugly question, but the answer is yes, definitely. It can be stated, with 90 percent accuracy, that *Ashkenazis* vote Alignment leftwards and *orientals* vote Likud. And if there is any divergence from this; more *Ashkenazis* vote Likud than *orientals* vote Alignment.

What is to be done?

What Determines Voting?

Thousands of opinion pollsters spend millions to find the answer to this question, but in my opinion most people vote for the group to which they feel they belong. Not economics, not Lebanon, not personalities or platforms. Everyone stands in the polling booth and asks: "To whom do I belong — to these or to those?" And accordingly, he/she votes.

Why Do They Continue to Vote Likud?

Hardly any Likud voter thinks the Likud is the best thing in the world. Almost all of them agree that the Likud made a mess of the economy. Nor do they think the Lebanon war was a brilliant success. *So why do they continue to vote Likud?*

In my opinion, there is one, and only one, reason — by virtue of the Likud's strength, its voters also acquired strength. After many years in which they were treated [and they treated themselves] as subjects, from the moment the Likud gained power, they also became powerful; they were equal in everything to Mapainiks and kibbutzniks and regimental commanders. And they don't give up something like this for the not-so-big chance that someone else would run the state a little bit better than their mates.

What Does a Member of the Herut Central Committee Think?

One of the soldiers in my regiment is a member of the Herut Central Committee. In a conversation, we tried to understand why the Alignment failed. "If the Alignment had chosen its Knesset representatives in free elections, like we did," he said, "and not by an appointment committee, they would have received at least 80 seats."

Why? Because the Alignment appointment committee made it quite clear to the disappointed and hesitant Likud voter that if, heaven forbid, the Alignment were to return to power, **than all the strength, equality and free**dom which they had achieved, after years of effort, would be returned immediately to a dark cellar. I, too, in their position, would not have voted Alignment.

Puzzle

Here's a passage from an ideological debate. Read it carefully, and then answer the question: For which party did each of the speakers vote?

a) It would be forbidden to relinquish, in any way, the Rafah strip settlements.

b) For a true peace, it would be obligatory to relinquish the Rafah strip settlements.

Did a) vote Tehiya, and b) Progressive List for Peace? Not at all. a) voted Alignment and b) voted Likud.

Honestly.

Three Types of Racism

In an army, as everywhere in the country, it is possible to use three forms of racism:

— racism against *Sephardis*;
— racism against *Ashkenazis*;
— racism against Arabs.

That's what is available, but not what's in use.

Racism against *Sephardis* has disappeared from use. Not, heaven forbid, that it doesn't exist. It exists, but is hidden. It's forbidden to use it, it's forbidden to say anyting that could contain a taste of a hint of racism against *Sephardis*. Why? Because it has turned out that the *Sephardis* are a very strong electoral force, and it's therefore forbidden to harm them, lest we should lose the elections.

The rising wave of anti-*Ashkenazi* racism has been somewhat moderated. I am still being held responsible (I'm an *Ashkenazi*) for all the hardships of the oriental communities. They say to me: "You put us into transit camps, you did this to us, you, you, you," But they're no longer cursing me. Why? Apparently because curses divide the people.

Anti-Arab racism, thank God, does not divide the people, but on the contrary, it unites them. So the majority of the people are firmly behind any possible hint of racism against Arabs, from the vile smell of their bodies to free advice on the best way to remove them from the world. On this subject, it seems, it is already possible to set up a national unity government.

Patriots on the Account of Others

The liberals among the racists (yes, even these exist) don't propose to expel all the Arabs from the country, nor to deny them civil rights.

They have another proposal, completely objective, to determine the person's level of citizenship — the extent of her/his army service. Someone who served in the army will be a citizen with full rights, and someone who did not serve in the army will be a second-class citizen.

That sounds perfectly fair, doesn't it?

But I, for some reason, was still angry, and heatedly shouted at one of the proposers: "Tell me, maniac, did your wife serve in the army?"

"No," he replied, "she stated that she was orthodox."

"And your wife?" I shouted at another liberal racist.

"No," he replied, "she got married young."

And so on, and so on. It soon became clear that nearly all the wives of the Likud-voting *Sephardis* had not served in the IDF, and all the wives of the Alignment-and-leftwards-voting *Ashkenazis* had served in the IDF.

The conclusion: All Alignment supporters are PLO agents.

What Does That Matter? A

Every time I tried, in my great stupidity, to raise the stupid idea that perhaps it would be worth attempting to live with the Arabs in some form of peace, equality or mutual respect, I was immediately bombarded from all sides with the claim: "You don't know those Arabs, you haven't lived with them." "What does that matter?" I answered them and tried to raise a list of well-founded explanations, but was rewarded only with scorn.

What Does That Matter? B

Every time I got fed up with hearing the finely-ground claims that "The Alignment put us in transit camps, sprayed us with DDT, din't give us work," etc, I would get up and shout at them. "But the Alignment brought you here, brought you down from the trees and out of the caves, saved you from the Arabs, taught you to drive, to read and write..."

They would immediately all shout: "What's this? You racist! We knew how to read and write. Don't make us laugh. You taught us nothing. What are you talking about? We had it good over there. We had all the good things. We lived like kings, we lived: it's just here, here that you've turned us into rubbish."

"OK, OK," I shouted, "but a moment ago you told me that I don't know the Arabs and that you've lived with them, and that it was terrible and awful and that they are all maniacs and that, if you turn your back on them, they will fuck you in the arse, didn't you?"

"What does that matter?" they replied with scornful faces, "what does that matter?"

A Passage from Television

In the evening, we are watching the television news in the canteen. The announcer says that this morning in Tel Aviv two youths drowned. The audience immediately responds with cries of anger about the neglect of the beaches, and takes part in the sorrow of the bereaved families. Later, the television goes over to the detailed report, and it turns out that the two drowned youths were Arabs.

"Very good," the audience responds, "excellent, they should all drown."

So I request the television administration to announce immediateley if the person killed is a Jew or an Arab, so that the people can distinguish between a sad and a happy news item.

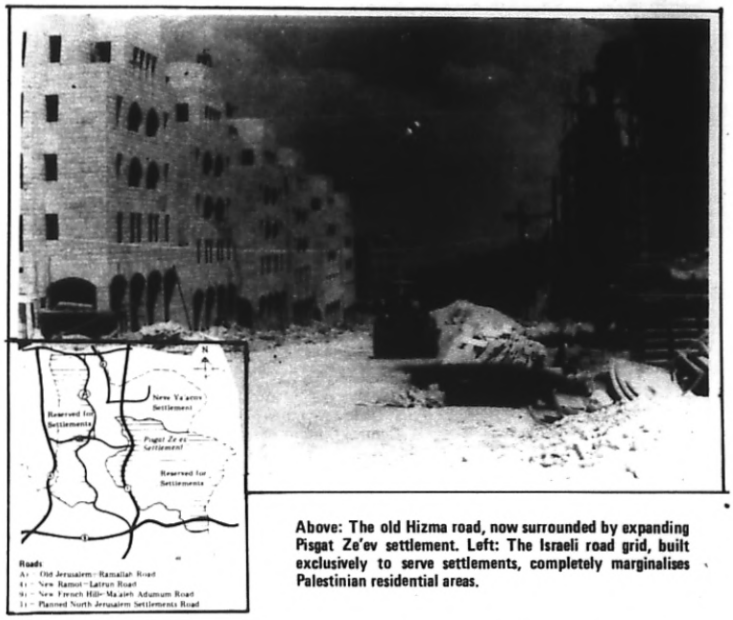
Conclusions

You will draw your own conclusions anyway, just as you like, won't you? (Translation: HaAretz, August 10, 1984)

Hizma village is just another casualty as the Israeli encirclement of East Jerusalem with Jewish settlements continues. The aim is to 'unify' the city and thus keep it out of any negotiations for a Palestinian homeland. **Maher Abukhater** reports.

Pisgat Ze'ev:

Another Israeli Sore on the Pockmarked Face of the West Bank



Above: The old Hizma road, now surrounded by expanding Pisgat Ze'ev settlement. Left: The Israeli road grid, built exclusively to serve settlements, completely marginalises Palestinian residential areas.

Hizma, with a population of 3500, was a small village nestled in the desert hills between Jerusalem and Ramallah when two years ago Israeli surveyors from the ministry of housing suddenly appeared on a hill overlooking the village and began to put down survey markers. The peace of Hizma was shattered. Several landowners from the village and nearby Beit Hanina were summoned to the ministry of interior and informed that their property on the surveyed hill would be confiscated. The government offered the landowners meagre sums of money for their property, but, according to several sources, none accepted the compensation.

The new settlement overlooking Hizma, called Pisgat Ze'ev, is part of a comprehensive plan by the ministry of housing in cooperation with the Israeli-run Jerusalem municipality and the ministry of interior settlement department, aimed at completing the circle of settlements around Arab East Jerusalem. The plan, referred to as the north Jerusalem plan, was drawn up in late 1981 and called for the building of 12,000 residential units for Jews on 4,400 dunums of land east of the Jerusalem-Ramallah highway by 1995. According to the scheme, the new residential units will link Neve Ya'acov settlement and French Hill. A major north-south highway will link all the settlements in that area to Jerusalem's central district. The new road will also serve as an alternate thoroughfare to the Jerusalem-Ramallah road, thereby allowing Israelis to completely bypass the Arab residential areas.

Israeli city planners hope this new highway, called "road number 1," will replace the Jerusalem-Ramallah road as the main northern entrance to Jerusalem and that it will encourage Jewish settlers to move into the new settlements to be built around the highway.

According to Ibrahim Dakkak, head of the Palestinian engineers union in Jerusalem, this circle of settlements is not altogether surprising or new. He said the Israeli government has had plans ever since it occupied the West Bank in 1967 to build a a circle of settlements around East Jerusalem for reasons he explained as "strategic." By encircling all of East Jerusalem with Jewish settlements, the Israeli government will ensure the 'unified' nature of the city and keep it forever out of any possible negotiations over a Palestinian homeland.

Dakkak explained that the settlement encirclement has the added effect of turning the Arab neighbourhoods into "ghettos." He said that the settlements surrounding the Arab neighbourhoods mean chances for Arab growth and expansion will be completely stopped. This same situation occurred in Jaffa where all Arab expansion was curtailed by the Israeli metropolis of Tel Aviv.

Residents of Hizma echoed Dakkak's viewpoint and complained that when the government expropriated all their property for settlements, it left them nothing whatsoever to build on. Most of the good land was taken, even farm land which some families used to cultivate for a living. Some families who have houses in the vicinity of Pisgat Ze'ev settlement received notices from the government informing them that they should vacate their homes in preparation for demolition. The excuse the government gave was that the homeowners, many of whom built their houses several years ago, do not have licences. Residents explained that they tried to get licences but were not given any, and therefore went ahead and built shelters for their families. They said that there was no way the government would have given them licences anyway, since it already had plans to take their property.

Some of the families, more fortunate than others, were able to obtain a building licence after a long battle, but then found themselves completely encircled with roads. This also left them without room to expand. Mohammed Burqan, a Jerusalem resident whose eviction from his Old City home in the late 1970s sparked international attention, once again is faced with Israeli expansion. He and his four neighbours are now closed in by roads for the settlement. Burqan said he had to viciously fight the construction company and ministry to prevent them from moving directly onto his property.

While Burqan was successful to some degree, others were not. A family living in two homes across from the settlement lost most of its property to the Israeli dwelling. Several dunums of land were taken to open a road for the settlement. Rocks removed from this new road were dumped in front of this family's residence destroying, as a result, much of its cultivated land. The Askar family was also informed that it cannot expand out of the current boundaries of its home, even though it owns all the land surrounding the house.

Askar complained that explosives were used to cut into surrounding hills without prior warning to the residents of that area: "We would be sitting peacefully in our home and all of a sudden there would be a big explosion. Immediately after that the house would shake and rocks fall." Several windows and the solar water system were destroyed as a result of the explosions.

Other Palestinian residents near Pisgat Ze'ev settlement said they are definitely worried about their future. They fear that Israeli settlers will harass them until they force them to leave. They said that many who walk the streets freely at night now will not be able to do so once the settlement is occupied. Under the pretext of security, Arabs who live there will be watched constantly and militant settlers will look for excuses to beat them, they told *Al Fajr*.

In spite of these serious and well-founded complaints, Israeli officials insist that the north Jerusalem plan will "benefit Arabs as well as Jews." Amir Hashin, Israeli advisor to the mayor on Arab affairs, said some residents of Hizma will benefit from Pisgat Ze'ev when their homes are linked to the settlement's sewage system. None of the Palestinian residents in the vicinity of Pisgat Ze'ev, however, said they have any knowledge of their residences being linked to a sewage system. One family expressed fear that the sewage will be dumped in their valley and they will suffer from it, not benefit. The settlement stands on a hill overlooking Hizma, making it more likely that Jewish sewage will be pumped down into the Arab village than *vice versa*.

Unionist Dakkak has no doubt that the north Jerusalem plan is part of a comprehensive scheme to make the Jewish population of East Jerusalem a majority. The north Jerusalem plan is intended to increase the Jewish population of that area to 60,000 by 1995. The Jerusalem municipality has not hidden the fact that it wants a Jewish majority in the Arab areas, as mentioned before, to make negotiations on the future of East Jerusalem aimed at returning it to Palestinian control that more difficult.

Pisgat Ze'ev is only one settlement in the plan. Work on roads for the settlement began almost two years ago and construction seven months ago. The settlement is being built west of Hizma village on the main and only road that links Hizma to the Jerusalem-Ramallah thoroughfare. Hizma commuters now have to take a turn around the settlement buildings to get to their village.

Another settlement, Pisgat Amir, is being planned for south of Pisgat Ze'ev. Both settlements are sure to expand. Pisgat Ze'ev will link with Neve Ya'acov and Pisgat Amir will form the link to the French Hill. A network of roads will connect the four settlements to West Jerusalem bypassing all Arab neighbourhoods.

East-west roads will also connect the settlements to the western part of Jerusalem, to Ramot settlement and road number 4, which is planned to connect Ramallah to Bethlehem going through Ramot, Gilo and other settlements west and south of Jerusalem. Both roads number 1 and 4 will run parallel to the main Jerusalem-Ramallah highway, currently the primary north-south road for Palestinian commuters. It may become a secondary road once the north Jerusalem plan is completed, a fact that will hasten Dakkak's prediction of an Arab "ghetto." Its route may also be diverted as the Israeli government has plans to expand the occupied Jerusalem airport and make it international.

Bir Zeit University's ambitious and successful display of traditional Palestinian crafts is housed in an artificial village constructed in the university's old campus. *Al Fajr's* **Flavia Pesarina** reports.

A Welcome New Village

When Bir Zeit's Festival '84 opened early this month visitors found that a village had erupted in the midst of the Old Campus. It was not the kind of jarring new construction Palestinians have grown accustomed to seeing in the area: pre-fabricated cardboard housing on wheels for carpet-bagging settlers.

Just off the basketball court and up a few steps stand a cluster of a dozen odd-shaped village houses. They look and feel solid and weather-worn and easily blend into the stone construction of the surrounding real village of Bir Zeit. Pass your hand over the walls and you detect the hammer-chiseled edges of stone blocks, set one on top of another and the mud-and-straw native cement which binds the stones and seals the gaps. A yellow hue of West Bank dust hangs over the houses and shops and an earthy smell is apparent.

Arched windows, domed ceilings, a staggered-stone design over rickety wooden doors, the characteristic blue-wash interiors go almost unnoticed — until the *bling-bong-pip-pip-pip* of an electronic cash register totalling up a Rukab ice cream sale arouses the consciousness. The village-within-a-village is no village at all, of course. One month before the area was empty and only two months before a fire set by unknown arsonists burned down a Palestine Week exhibit on the same site.

After months of design and preparation of materials by architect Majed Azubaydi, the actual village construction by Bir Zeit University workers and students, with finishing touches by Azubaydi, took only a few weeks. The buildings range from lean-to bamboo shacks to simple three-room houses with wood skeletons and styrofoam block flesh. Mud and *tibn*, the chaff from straw, were mixed — as they are in real-life villages — to make sun-baked cement to fill the cracks. The construction is an amazing feat of design, adapted material and fine detail to seduce any city dweller or foreigner.

But why? Why would anyone trouble themselves to create a village for Palestinians to visit when village life in not so far removed from Palestinians — 70 percent of West Bankers are village-dwellers. Azubaydi and the Bir Zeit artists group say the village is not a replica, but symbolic, a natural exhibit background to gather Palestinian arts and crafts workers. It appears to be an astounding success.

Visitors to the village scale down their perspective immediately at the first hut where if they peer through the window a tiny old man kneels on the floor deftly weaving a basket. The art of *qash* or straw weaving is dying out in the West Bank, in part from farm machinery which now cuts up the stems of wheat used for handcrafts. The finer geometrical designs of straw coloured by root dyes is being replaced by less intricate designs of plastic and chemically-treated slats, according to artist Suleiman Mansour, who helped organise the crafts section of the village. The weaver is from Jalazoun camp and has spent 30 years of his life plaiting straw. His earnings helped to put his son through medical school.

The model village, still under construction, finished after two weeks of hard work by BZU students/AO photo

Above: Architect Majed Azubaydi, who designed and prepared the materials for the village. Below: A sculptor, carving a lion on stone/POP photos

The demonstration of craft workers on-the-job teaches visitors about Palestinian craft production but also encourages workers by providing them with an appreciative and curious audience Most now work in small factories which mass produce craft with little room for artistic value or creativity and have no contact with the public.

On to a poster exhibit, in which all are entries in an international poster contest sponsored by the university on the theme of academic freedom and Bir Zeit's part in the community. Most of the 58 unsigned posters are from abroad — Poland and Holland — and 10 were submitted by local artists. it is refreshing to see Palestine through international symbols and in the context of other people's struggles. But no one wanted to stay too long indoors so on to the next stall....

...to where two young men from Bir Zeit University's new fine arts workshop were sitting, one daubing enamel with coloured dots and another transferring a design onto copper. Glazed finished products and hand-hammered copper plates lined the shelves behind. The designs were careful copies of traditional village art which the BZU centre hopes to revitalise.

A sizeable group of spectators stood a respectful distance away from the next display of wood and mother-of-pearl workers, lathes humming and chips flying. The five workers were all from Beit Sahour, centre of the Palestinian olive wood and mother-of-pearl local industry. One worker sat in front slowly dipping his collection of small wooden vases into a vat of varnish. A former resident of Jerusalem's Old City stood with his small daughter, transfixed, he said, by the hot smell of wood reminding him of a boyhood spent among carpenters. Mixed with the pleasant smell of sawdust was the distinctly unpleasant odour and sound of a dentist's office as a portly 'pearl' worker cut slivers of shell with an old dental drill. The drills are used to fashion filigree mother-of-pearl — Palestine is the only place in the world, according to artist Mansour, where designs are cut into the shell — as well as to carve details into olive wood statuettes. The pearl, which is imported from Australia, is usually fitted together in mosaics for decorative boxes, book covers and jewellery. The BZU artist's workshop is trying to use the intricate filigree in traditional Arab designs inlaid in wood with a less commercial emphasis.

Next, for a bit of a rest, a *madahfeh*, a large, dark, arch-ceilinged room where village men traditionally sipped coffee in communal comfort. Called *jamaloun* style from its Beduin origins, the coffee house was also used as a hostel for visitors. In Bir Zeit's mini-village, it is furnished with *qash* mats, pillows, *narghili* water pipe, woven cloths and tools. Food storage jars are mistakenly tucked in a wall niche made to store bedding, but other than that — and the fact that no one served coffee — the house seemed genuine in detail.

On to a bit of action, around the corner, where a potter is throwing wet clay on a wheel. A group of amazed children, mouths open, watch the mound turn into a vase. Next to the potter, a kiln fires the clay; the last stage of production, decoration, is attended to in the final booth where two teenage boys paint the typically Palestinian floral designs. All of the pottery workers are from Hebron, the West Bank's pottery capital.

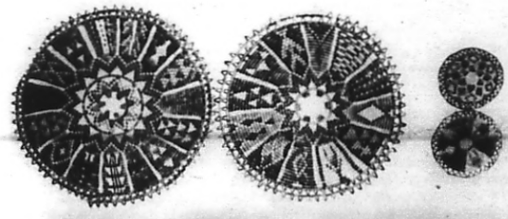
The only women workers in the village knead, stretch and throw yeast, flour and oil blobs into the corrugated circles of *khubz tabboun*, baked on convex hearths stoked with wood. The three women from Atara village seem delighted that their everyday task has taken on reverential dimensions for the spectators. They pass out the fruit of their work to each gathering but the gratitude is relative: one young American visitor says: "What's the big deal? It just tastes like old bread," while Palestinians munch away in glazed delight at the brown, charcoal-cooked bread.

Glassblowers are popular everywhere and if you push your way to the front, you, too, can be entertained by the man who defies nature before your eyes by turning solid into liquid and back into solid. The Hebron glassblower enjoys his craftmanship and the arcs he makes with his magic wand of molten glass get bigger with the crowds. A one-man glass factory has been reconstructed in the mini-village with an oven reaching 700 degrees Celsius. In addition to his full-time job in Hebron where he can turn out several hundred vases, cups and figurines a day, he makes 20 to 30 pieces in the few hours he spends at the Bir Zeit festival. Sea-blue glassware with swirled stems and fluted edges end up on a table awaiting buyers.

One of the largest exhibits is the three rooms devoted to local painters. On display are the works of veterans in the field, like Karim Dabbagh from Nablus and newcomers like Taysir Barakat from Jabalya camp in Gaza, whose dark, fuzzy images of children against a stark wall soften the usual depiction of refugee camps.

At the doorstep of the next exhibit squats a Bir Zeit village stone cutter chipping away at a half-metre square block of white stone, deftly shaping it into a lion relief. Today, virtually all decorative stone work in the West Bank is done by carving into the stone — Arabic proverbs, names, floral designs and some geometric designs for new houses. The art of carving out a design in relief has almost disappeared, stonecutters say, for lack of new patterns. "Give me a new design and I will carve it," this stonecutter told Suleiman Mansour when he was looking for stone artisans. Mansour found a primitive-looking lion shape on a 90-year-old house in nearby al-Bireh and asked the Bir Zeit man to reproduce it. He dug into his task with all the tools of his trade, and attached a virile mane, toenails and other embellishments: the result is a real work of long-forgotten art.

Above: Bethlehem and Beit Sahour are famous for olivewood carving. Here a craftsman makes a vase. Centre: Traditional multi-coloured Palestinian straw trays (*qash*). Below: A Hebronite uses a foot-powered wheel to throw a pot/POP photos

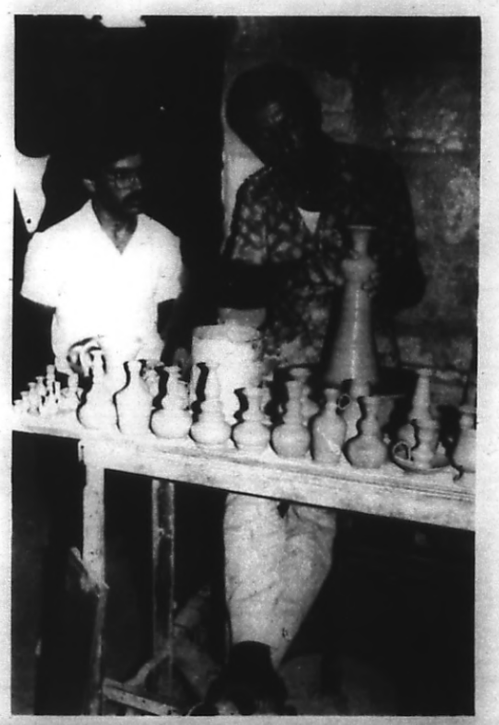


Recovering Lost Art

The final stop is an exhibit area for Bir Zeit University's Folklore Arts Centre, a project launched early this year to introduce artistic designs, new materials and techniques to the local crafts industry. The staff of 11 designers and technicians packed two large rooms with the first display of their own work and handicrafts of their design commissioned from village artisans. Artists Nabil Anani and Suleiman Mansour designed and supervised the work in the folk art section: fine, coloured *qash* straw weaving from specialists in Kufr Haris; hand-painted arabesque table tops and wall lanterns; mother-of-pearl inlaid wooden niches; blood red, black and white folk design weavings of goat hair and wool from the *Sawahreh* Beduin; glass and ceramic wall hangings; hand-tooled copper; traditional Palestinian images in olive wood (to replace the dopey 'Jesus-faces' that appear on tourist merchandise). The art objects were top quality, well-designed and constructed, and recovered an Arab emphasis.

Potter Issam Badr recently returned from advanced study in the Soviet Union in order to supervise the ceramics section of the BZU workshop. The roomful of pottery on display shows new shapes, textures and designs — giant mosaics, jugs, pitchers — all beautifully coloured and glazed according to reworked Palestinian folk tradition.

The mini-village encircled a souvenir stand selling the art produced on site and...that 35-year-old Palestinian tradition of delicious Rukab ice cream...*bling-bong-pip-pip-pip* to the 500 daily visitors. The village, which cost JD8000 to complete, is made of lego-like components and can easily be disassembled and stored for reuse.



Israeli researchers have found a steady move to the Right in Israeli society and attribute it to the individual's origin, age and length of time in Israel. **Eli Tabor** investigates in a translation from *Yediot Aharanot*.

Can Social Factors Explain Why Young Israelis Flock to Right-Wing Parties?

The politicians did some soul-searching on the night the election results were known. The sociologists took just over two weeks to analyse what happened and what the meaning of the election results is regarding the processes taking place in Israeli society.

Members of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Tel Aviv University held their first symposium to analyse the election results. They discussed the extent to which, at a theoretical level, voting tendencies are connected to demographic characteristics such as age, community and religiousness. They also examined to what extent the election results show changes in the ideological mood, even if a large part of the public affected is not aware of them.

Professor Efraim Ya'ar, a sociologist and social psychologist, who directs the Social Research Institute at Tel Aviv University, said: "A clear tendency towards right-wing extremism over the past 15 years was expressed in the recent elections. Since the end of the 1960s, a process in which the political self-identity has clearly moved to the right has taken place in Israeli society. This does not just mean a transfer from the left to the right. Qualitatively, the left has become less left and more centre, the centre has become more right-wing, and the right has become more extreme. The section of the public that identifies itself as right-wing is continually growing."

This has found expression not just in the election results. Nearly all the surveys and the research carried out in the last 15 years show this trend taking place slowly but continually in Israeli society. This does not mean a social earthquake, but the slow and invisible movement of a glacier, which is held up only for a while.

A report by Professor Yohanan Peres and Dr Sara Shemer, on "The Communal Factor in Elections in the Israeli Knesset," states: "Communal origin is one of the important factors which influenced the political behaviour of the Israeli-Jewish public at the beginning of the 1980s. The correlation between origin and voting behaviour has grown since the last elections, and the general categorisation into two communal groups is useful, at least as far as forecasting electoral behaviour today... We have found that this factor alone, if other factors do not change, leads to a growing gap between the two large parties, to the Likud's benefit, at a rate of about 1.5 percent per election."

A Long-Term Trend

The forecast did not prove true in the elections to the 11th Knesset. The Likud strength diminished, but the overall strength of the right rose by exactly the forecast percentage. In other words, what the researchers are saying is: it makes no difference who is prime minister, it's not important if a right-wing government succeeds or fails, there is no importance at all in election propaganda or political publicity — the political identity of Israeli society is determined in advance by the correlation created between communal origin and political self-identity.

One of the first to realise that the socio-political balance was starting to be shaken was the sociologist Professor Asher Arian. After the 1969 elections, he stated that the voter's origin, age and length of time in Israel were influencing the electoral pattern. Likud voters are characterised by being young and of Asian or African origin, while Alignment voters are of European origin, middle-aged and have been in Israel for a long period.

Since the number of voters of Asian origin is steadily increasing within the population, it is only natural that the right-wing camp, with which they are identified, should strengthen. But Arian also believed that if those who voted for the (then) opposition were mainly young, they would eventually grow up and fit their voting patterns to those of the older people.

The Drawing Force of the Right

After the 1973 elections, sociologists Peres, Ya'ar and Shofet carried out research which strengthened Arian's findings, but had a different conclusion: the group whose proportion in the population was rising tended to vote Likud, while the group loyal to the Alignment was dwindling. There is, therefore, a long-term tendency, based on demographic trends, which benefits the Likud.

In other words, it became clear that the youth were not changing their position as they grew older. On the contrary, they continued to stick to them and were even causing new groups of youth, from those strata whose weight in the population was growing, to follow them.

According to Professor Ya'ar: "What is interesting is that, while on the left-right axis there is always movement rightwards, on the socialist-capitalist axis most of the public see themselves closer to socialism — about 60 percent. That means that even those who identify themselves as right-wing identify themselves as socialists as well."

Professor Ya'ar and his colleagues claim that because the proportion of Israelis fitting the right-wing profile, who are of African/Asian origin, young, or have lived for a short period in Israel, is growing among the population, then the drawing-force, which in the early years of the state was on the left, has moved to the right.

Ya'ar said: "It is necessary to distinguish between the first step towards the Likud, whose signs could already be seen in 1969 and came to massive expression in 1977 and 1981, and the identification with the Likud in subsequent years. The first vote for the Likud was a protest vote. The Likud was the only alternative by which the youth of the oriental communities could express their protest. It wasn't the Likud's ideology that attracted them, it was their feeling of deprivation that pushed them in this direction. If, for instance, the right had ruled the state in its first years, the complete opposite would now be happening — the feeling of deprivation would be pushing these young people to the left.

Sub-Conscious Links

But since 1981, two additional processes have occurred: one is psycho-social and the second is the developments in the state.

According to Professor Ya'ar: "In psychology there is a process known as 'imprinting.' When at a critical stage of development a particular stimulus appears in the environment of the person or animal, it impresses its signature. Sub-conscious links are formed with the stimulus. An impression is formed, from which it is later hard to escape. If, for instance, you show 9-12-year-old ducklings a mechanical toy, even if it doesn't look like a duck, then some hours later, when the mother duck appears, the duckling will prefer to follow the toy and not the mother duck. Following an act, the one-time protest perhaps of the young people who voted Likud in 1973 or 1977, the process of 'imprinting' took place, and the leaning towards the Likud became a central emotional link. In order to stop it, something very dramatic must take place."

In addition to the 'imprinting' process, there was another process taking place: the increase of the religious factor. While in the first years of the state the religious political parties had a minimal involvement in non-religious matters, after 1967, with the conquest of Judea and Samaria, a religious ideology developed which led to a process of extreme radicalisation among religious groups.

According to Professor Ya'ar: "The reality formed in Israel after 1967 gave an ideological content for conducting a struggle to the religious. And the extremism of religious ideology is much more intransigent than of secular ideology. While, for instance, according to the security concept, the occupied territories are not a goal in their own right, but a means for defending the state, in the religious ideology, control of the territories has become a sacred goal in its own right.

"The reality created in Israel since 1967 has strengthened the right-wing ideology. Since the youth naturally tend to be more idealistic, and more radically idealistic than their parents, and since in the reality of Israeli society a competing ideology has not been formed — it is no wonder that a large part of the youth lean to the only ideology within reach, the national or nationalist ideology."

To Halt the Energy

Ya'ar and his colleagues say that while the state matured and underwent processes of social and economic change, whose meaning was in effect the loss of the socialist hegemony, an ideological vacuum was created. The Six Day War and what followed allowed the breakthrough of right-wing ideologies, religious and secular, which fascinated the youth. Young people generally debate, worry and try to find a new path. If in Israel they have adopted a right-wing ideology, it is simply because there is no other alternative.

"This is a characteristic problem in the whole western world, which is losing its ideological fascination," says Professor Ya'ar. "An opportunity was created here, which is not common for the youth of the western world: a nationalist ideology, allied to a security threat to existence. This gives Israeli youth an opportunity to express energy and an attachment to youthfulness."

This is an explanation for the fact that the level of support for the right among youth is much greater than among the whole adult population — but only one of the explanations. All the social scientists in Israel agree on the fact of this phenomenon. But there are differing views on the causes. Some say that the full nature of the real causes is not yet known.

According to Professor Peres of Tel Aviv University: "A right-wing wave is washing over the whole world. Youth tend to adopt thought patterns not necessarily for social reasons. Youth generally have less obligations to the groups which preceded them. Therefore, they are more open to a new spirit, which, even though it seems reactionary, is the spirit of the age.

"I see a global link between such phenomena as Khomeinism, the 'Moral Majority' in the United States and the increasing leaning of youth towards Tehiya and Kahane. In each country the phenomenon takes a different expression and form. It is very interesting to compare what is happening here with the phenomenon of Khomeinism in Iran. The style, of course, is different, but the two phenomena belong to one wave. The reasons for the appearance of this wave have not yet been sufficiently established, but we can sense its presence."

An additional point, which according to Peres should not be ignored, is the social reality in which young people who reached voting age in the elections of 1977, 1981 and 1984 grew up. "They grew up in a situation of conquest. For them, the State of Israel is the Judea-and-Samaria State of Israel. Any change in this situation is a change in a situation to which they have felt that they belonged ever since they could think. In the same way that somebody who grew up here before the establishment of the state would not think of returning Jaffa or Ramle to the Palestinians, so those whose worldview includes Judea and Samaria as a part of Israel do not understand any other reality."

Professor Peres says also the fact that everything identified with the left in Israel is connected with economic and social establishment, with a high standard of living, with plenty, with social strength — of which the Kibbutzim and the Histadrut are part — influences the adults. "To the youth, the Alignment appears responsible, experienced and old, but the Likud has a young and fresh image, less connected to property. In a paradoxical way, it is the right in Israel that has a fresh, dynamic and fascinating image."

The conclusion must be: what matters for most of the youth is not ideology, not a socio-political platform, not an economic programme, and not identification with the values of this or that side. Youth is attracted by images. But in Israel the communal factor is most important. As Peres and Shemer state in their research: "Communal-political organisation on one side pushes towards parallel organisation on the other side. The worse the conflict becomes, the more pressure the two sides exert on those who vote 'against the norm' for their community. And voting that diverts from the communal pattern becomes harder and harder." And since the proportion of the communities identified with the right is growing among the youth, the proportion of youth identifying themselves as right-wing is also growing. (Translation: Yediot Aharanot, August 10, 1984)

Mohammed Darwazzeh: A Lifetime of Struggle

Darwazzeh, an outstanding Palestinian political figure, was the most active of nationalist writers. He contributed a great deal of political writings and scientific research, and his absence left a vacuum in the hearts of those who loved him and looked upon him as a friend, brother, writer and pioneer. His writings and his political struggle promoted him to a position of great respect as a well known writer among prominent Palestinian and Arab authors.

This Palestinian historian, researcher and militant, Mohammed Ezzat Darwazzeh, died in Damascus July 26, 1984. The 97-year-old man of the 'productive pen' was a veteran scholar of great talents and achievements. He belonged to the first group of Palestinian pioneers and his writings reflect the painful, but productive, life of an exile. He spent his life travelling from one country to another, one exile to another, one jail to another.

At his death, he left behind a countless number of books on history, Islamic thought, politics and other social topics. His personal autobiography is a strong feature in his writings. Living through a period of many great events and wars, he belonged to various political parties, as well as helping to form committees for the defence of Arab causes and the Palestinian cause in particular.

Darwazzeh was born in Nablus in June 1887, the offspring of a prosperous family of merchants and skilled craftsmen. His family is a branch of the Freihat tribe whose members mostly live in Ajloun, on the eastern bank of the Jordan River. Family financial troubles stopped him from continuing his higher education. He only finished the elementary and preparatory levels of his education in Nablus.

After his graduation in 1903, he started work as an employee at the Othman Post Office where he mastered the skill of receiving and sending telegrams. This job gave him the opportunity of moving on to the higher position of deputy manager of the Bisan and Nablus post offices. He was later manager of the stamps department in Beirut and commissioner of post office centres in Tiberias, Khan Yunis, Irbed, Madaba, and Izra'a. During World War I, he was in charge of post office centres in the Sinai and this position gave him the chance to visit several Arab towns and to widen his political horizon. He was also general management secretary in Beirut, where he performed his duties until the collapse of the Ottoman empire.

Unable to pursue a formal higher education at Asatana or Beirut, Darwazzeh broadened his awareness and insight by intensified reading on the subjects of literature, social science, politics and religion. Wherever he went, he carried the works of prominent writers, scholars, historians and thinkers of the time, such as Mohammed Abdu, Rashid Rida, Shebli Shemayel Georgi Zidan, Shakib Arsalan, Mustafa Lutfi Manfalute, Mustafa Sadeq Rafe'i, Qassem Amin, Adib Ishaq, Wali' al-Din Yakun, and poets Ahmad Shawqi, Hafez Ibrahim and Khalil Mutran. These were his sources of knowledge and culture. Writers' works at that time were published in the *Hilal*, *Muqtatef* and *Resala* magazines. Dawazzeh's cultural writing began to appear in the twenties.

After the collapse of the Turkish government, Darwazzeh worked at the Abdallah Ben Hussein Diwan office in Amman between 1918 and 1922. In the years between 1922 and 1927, Darwazzeh was headmaster of Najah school in Nablus. He was the director of the *Waqf* department in Nablus for five years and, in 1932, was promoted to the position of *Waqf* general director in the West Bank. He was dismissed from this position in 1937 by British authorities, whose soldiers broke into the *Waqf* offices in reaction to the outbreak of the Palestinian revolution in 1936.

Darwazzeh lived an active political life. He was a member of the *Ittihad* and *Taraqi* (Unity and Progress) movements in Nablus in 1908. After his discovery of its racist programme, however, he renounced the movement. Cooperating with other figures in Nablus, Darwazzeh formed a branch of the "Unity and Freedom Militant Party" in Nablus. Even from his earliest years, Darwazzeh was aware of Jewish activities and their plans to establish their homeland in Palestine.

In the fields of education and culture, Darwazzeh was primarily concerned with the preservation of the Arabic language. He was the founder of the "Arab Scientific Society" in 1911, whose aim was to establish more schools and fight against Turkism in the Arab curriculum. In 1913, he was one of the leading proponents of reform in the Turkish goverment, particularly in education and Arab national rights. In 1914, Darwazzeh, *Sheikh* Nimr Dari, Ibrahim Qassem and *Haj* Hassan Hamadeh belonged to the decentralisation party, which originated in Egypt.

The Work of Mohammed Darwazzeh

Besides his many articles published in the *Haqiqa* newspaper in Beirut, his translation work from French and his many novel and play scripts written between 1911 and 1925, Darwazzeh wrote many books. The most important books are:

* *Mukhtasar Tarikh Arab wal Islam, (A Summary of Arab and Islamic History*. Salafia Printing House, Egypt. 1926 and 1927.

* *The Quran and Jews*. Damascus. 1949.

* *Hawala Haraket Tahdeth Arabia*, (About the Arab Modern Movement) (6 parts). Asria Printing House, Sidon. 1951 and 1953.

* *Mashakel al-Alam al-Arabi*. (Problems of the Arab World). Yaqtha Printing House, Damascus. 1952.

* *Tarikh al-Jins al-Arabi fi Mukhtalaf al-Twar, al-Adwar, wal Aqtar* (History of the Arab Race in all Stages, Its Tasks, and in all Countries). Asria Printing House, Sidon. 1958 and 1963.

* *Al-Wahda al-Arabia*. (The Arab Unity). Tijari Printing House, Beirut. 1958.

* *Mqsat Filistin* (Tragedy of Palestine). Yaqtha Printing House, Damascus. 1951.

* *Al-Arab wal Orouba fi Heqbet al-Taghlub al-Turki* (Arab and Arabhood at the Time of Turkish Domination) (3 parts). Yaqtha Printing House, Damascus. 1961 and 1967.

* *Oroubet Mesr Qabl al-Islam wa Badu* (The Arabhood of Egypt before Islam and After). National Committee for Publication in the Arab United Republic. 1960.

* *Al Tafseer Hadith* (Modern Interpretation) (12 parts). Ihia Kuttob Arabia Printing House. 1961 and 1963.

* *Al-Mara'a fi al-Quran wa Sunna* (Women in the Quran and Sunna). Asria Printing House, Sidon. 1967.

* *Al-Islam wa Ishtarkia* (Islam and Socialism). Asria Printing House, Sidon. 1968.

Qesset al-Ghazweh Sahyouniye (The Story of the Zionist Invasion). Arabia Printing House, Sidon. 1970.

**Nashet al-Harka Arabia Haditha* (The Formation of the Arab Modern Movement). Arabia Printing House, Sidon. 1972.

**Fi Qadiet Filistin wa Wehda al-Arabia* (In Palestine, the Cause and Arab Unity). Asria Printing House, Sidon. 1973.

* *Ebra Men Tarikh Filistin al-Qadim* (A Lesson From the History of Palestine). Articles published in magazines and newspapers in Damascus between 1975 and 1977. Asria Printing House, Sidon. 1978.

* *Safhat Maghlota wa Muhmala fen Tarikh al-Qadia al-Filistinia wa Haraket al-Moqawama al-Arabia* (Erroneous and Neglected Pages in the History of the Palestinian Cause and the Arab Resistance Movement). Asria Printing House, Sidon. 1979.

For a valuable work on Darwazeh's life see:

* Hassan Ommar Hamadeh, *Mohammed Ezzat Darwazzeh, His Life and Books*. Beirut, 1982. The book was issued by the Palestinian Writers and Journalists Union. It includes pictures and various documents.

Darwazzeh helped build a branch of the party in Palestine. The party demanded the implementation of a decentralised system providing for separate national entities within the Ottoman empire.

After Prince Faisal's victory over Turkey in Damascus, Darwazzeh was a prominent figure in his government. However, he returned to Nablus where he formed the "Islamic and Christian Society" which fought against Zionist immigration and their plans to build settlements on Palestinian lands. The society also fought against the political consequences of the Balfour Declaration. Darwazzeh represented this national society in sessions of the first Palestinian Arab conference, convened in Jerusalem in 1919. He was elected conference secretary and played an important role in formulating the Palestine National Charter and Accords.

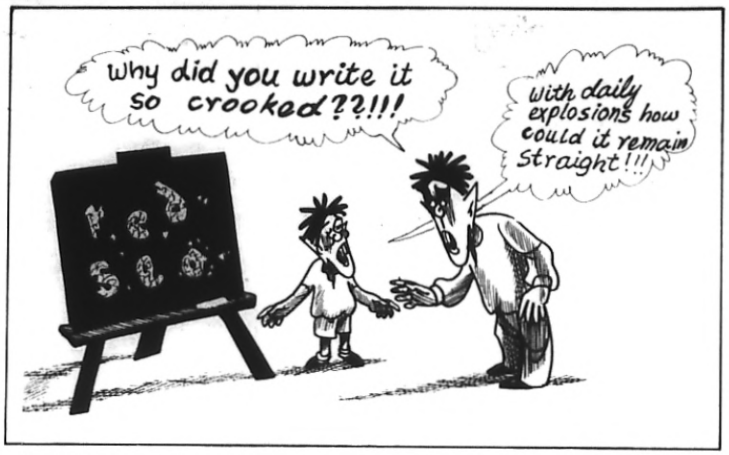
Darwazzeh was among those tried in French military courts on political charges after the French troops occupied Syria. In June 1939, he was arrested on a charge of providing militaristic and material supplies to the Syrian revolution. He was sentenced to five years in jail and fined FF5000. He spent 16 months in the Mazeh citadel and Damascus citadel prisons. French authorities released him and other prisoners following their defeat in late 1940 by the German army. Soon British and French forces reinvaded Syria and Lebanon, staging a broad campaign of arrests against nationalists. Darwazzeh fled to Turkey where he spent more than four years.

After the establishment of the Arab League in Cairo, Darwazzeh was chosen to be a member of the Higher Arab Committee, headed by Amin Husseini in 1946. The following year, Darwazzeh represented the committee in Syria and Lebanon. In the same year, however, Darwazzeh resigned "because he felt himself at odds with its means of struggle."

Darwazzeh began suffering from a kidney disease in 1948. He was transferred to the American University hospital, where he underwent an operation. He left the hospital fatigued and weak. He took refuge in his home and spent his time writing.

Preoccupied by a nationalist ambition to unite all Arab countries, Darwazzeh was very active in writing about the subject. He also sent letters to the various Arab presidents urging them to unite their countries. His friends believe that the impact of his imprisonments and isolation in Turkey was tremendous on his productivity. He devoted his last years in depicting his experiences and his Palestinian dream that years of drought could not obliterate. (Translation: Yom al-Sabeh, August 6, 1984)

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



Palestinian leadership meetings, the Red Sea mining and King Hussein's statements to an American TV network were the main stories in the local papers this week.

All Palestinian newspapers published in the occupied territories spoke about the latest negotiations between the various Palestinian leaders. Local papers spoke of the coming PNC meeting, to be held by September 15, and the various pre-PNC meetings that are planned.

The international minesweeping operations in the Red Sea were given comprehensive coverage this week.

Al Quds daily gave its top spot August 19 to the interview given by the Jordanian monarch to American CNNTV. The *Al Quds* headline read "Hussein Supports International Conference Based on UN Resolution 242."

Israeli Liberals Surprised at Arab Defence

The Israeli paper *Ma'ariv* was astonished by the call by the regional committee of the Arab local councils to the Arab masses to be on the alert to defend themselves against the provocations of the Kahane gang.

We, in turn, wonder at the paper's astonishment. What do they expect our people to do when they are physically attacked?

The uprising of the Arab masses against Kahane's provocations is decisive proof that our people are determined to stay on their homeland forever and to defend their right to life and development.

Our people should be on the alert. But the government must be responsible for restraining Kahane's gangs.

Let our people struggle to disqualify Kahane and cancel his parliamentary immunity. He is not only anti-Arab, he is also anti-democracy and is detrimental to the real interests of the Israeli people. We have to deepen Jewish-Arab cooperation so as to eradicate this plague — Kahanism.

AL ITTIHAD
August 16

America's Fun-Loving President

US Senator Hart was right when he described Reagan's joke as an expression of his [Reagan's] thoughts. For Reagan has been practicing this 'joke' since he came to power. He did so in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Grenada and Lebanon.

Reagan did all this — military intervention, threats to world peace, deploying intermediate missiles in Europe — in the "service of the cause of peace." He also rejected the Soviet proposals on arms control.

His abusive statements against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries indicate that he is far behind the spirit of the age. He emphasises his aggressive approach, thus threatening world peace.

Any sane person can imagine the consequences of such a 'joke' had it gone on the air and been heard by the Soviet Union.

American citizens should contemplate the competence of their president during this election year. The Western European leaders who went along with Reagan's policy should be more responsive to the interests of their people and the people of the world by curbing nuclear weapons.

Reagan's 'joke' stresses the need to intensify the struggle for peace and disarmament.

AL TALIA
August 16

Urgent Need for an Arab Summit

Yasir Arafat, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, reiterated yesterday Palestinian support for the Soviet initiative for an international conference. He described it as the only available way for a peaceful solution.

With the growing support for this initiative, both on the Arab and international levels, there seems to be an urgent need for a unified Arab position which may serve as a solid base for the idea of an international conference adopting the UN resolutions that recognise Palestinian rights.

True, the US-Israeli rejection of the initiative is hindering it, but it is essential to emphasise that gaining international support for the conference will further isolate the rejectionists, and show the futility of any other initiative that ignores the core of the region's crisis.

We are afraid we would be dreaming if we thought of the possibility of holding an Arab summit that would immediatley put an end to the Gulf war, eliminate the marginal differences and formulate the minimum of agreement to mobilise Arab energies. If such a thing happened it would tip the balance of forces in the favour of our people. This might sound too optimistic, but it is the only possible thing, if our people are to overcome this difficult stage.

AL SHA'AB
August 18

US and Israel's Pariah Status

The communique issued three days ago by the 9th UN symposium on the Palestinian problem is different from previous communiques issued by other symposiums. It is of special significance and should therefore be emphasised and widespread.

The communique asserted the need for an international peace conference to be attended by all parties concerned, including the PLO, the United States and the USSR.

Since the United States and Israel rejected the Soviet initiative for such a conference, then the communique of the 9th UN symposium is affirming anew the isolation of the United States and Israel from the world community.

Though the communique is not legally binding, it gives a clear picture of the nature of the conflict and of the nature of forces seeking peace and progress and those forces doing the opposite.

The communique is bound to gain more support for the international peace conference to solve the Palestinian problem and end the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The international peace conference is the best way for achieving peace and justice and for avoiding more wars and disasters.

AL FAJR
August 20

PNC Progress Depends on Damascus

Finally a statement was issued by the Palestinian parties meeting in Algiers. The statement indicates that progress has been made. But this progress depends on the position of the National Alliance based in Damascus.

There are no encouraging signs that there has been a change in the position of the National Alliance. The statement issued by a leader of the Alliance warns Algeria and South Yemen against hosting the 17th session of the PNC.

This being the case, the rest of the Palestinian organisations are faced with a difficult choice. Either they continue the fruitless dialogue with the National Alliance or they stop the dialogue and ignore the rejecting organisations. The latter choice involves danger to the independence of the Palestinian decision and to the balancing of relations between the PLO and all Arab countries.

In view of the challenges and responsibilities facing the occupied territories and the Palestinian cause as a whole, the rejecting organisations are requested to take action during the remaining short period for the PNC convention.

Those organisations can state their views before the council instead of boycotting it or taking a negative stand that will benefit those who do not wish the Palestinian people any good.

AL QUDS
August 21

Dissidents Intent on Splitting PLO

Yesterday the leaders of the dissident factions and mercenary groups held a press conference in Damascus and declared their challenge to the Palestinian people. They threatened every Palestinian who attends the next PNC session and went even further to threaten every Arab country that hosts the PNC.

Their impudence is understandable because the communique issued by the Palestinians meeting in Algiers shattered their dream of splitting the PLO and creating an alternative to it.

It is not strange that they challenge the Palestinian people now. They plotted with the Syria regime in 1976 when the Syrian army invaded Lebanon. They plotted again with the Syrian and Libyan regimes in 1983 when the Palestinian forces and camps came under siege in North Lebanon.

Having been reduced by the Aden agreement to their small size, they continue to challenge and threaten. Therefore they should be dealt with in a practical way by the parties to the Aden agreement.

The Syrian position is also important because the dissidents were threatening from Damascus and acting in accordance with the will of the Syrian regime. The obvious meaning of these threats is that the Syria regime is still intent on splitting the PLO and creating an alternative to it. There are also signs that the Syrian regime still turns its back to the Palestinian initiatives for normalisation.

The Syrian regime is responsible for all crimes committed by these dissidents and mercenaries against the Palestinian factions, personalities and other Arab regimes.

If the plotters in Damascus are talking about a split in case the PNC is convened, then we think that this opportunity should be seized to clean the Palestinian arena of them.

AL SHA'AB
August 21

Kahane Fueling More Racist Fires

Racist MK Meir Kahane is keeping Palestinians in Israel busy with his continuous inciting statements and his offensive behaviour. Kahane almost caused a riot in Haifa August 19 when he tried unsuccessfully to address a meeting in Beth Hakranot square in downtown Haifa. According to Haifa-based *Al Ittihad* newspaper, Arab and Jewish demonstrators shouted Kahane and his supporters down and forced them to leave the area under police protection. Arab and Jewish demonstrators screamed "Kahane go home, Kahane is crazy, Fascism will not pass."

After less than an hour, Kahane and his supporters left the area under a heavy escort provided by the Haifa police.

Earlier the same day, the village council of Um al-Fahm received a telegram from Kahane informing them that he still intends to visit Um al-Fahm "as part of his Knesset duties to learn of the problems of Arabs in the state of Israel." The Um al-Fahm council held an emergency meeting and agreed to reply directly to Kahane, as well as to Israeli political and police officials. In their reply to Kahane, the council said: "Your racist ideas are well known to us and therefore your arrival in our town is not welcome. Government circles are well aware of our problems, but if you are interested in proving that you are a Knesset member who can be talked to, you must rescind your statements about Um al-Fahm and all Arab residents."

Kahane told Israel Radio later the same day that he is still planning to visit Um al-Fahm with his supporters. Um al-Fahm organised a demonstration of over 7000 Arab and Jewish people August 4 in protest of Kahane's racist statements.

Diaspora Jews Meet PLO Supporters

Leaders of Diaspora Jewry met leaders from the West Bank and Gaza, while leaders of the United Jewish Appeal in Montreal met with *Al Fajr* editor Hanna Siniora in order to learn first-hand the PLO position on a settlement for the Palestinians and the State of Israel.

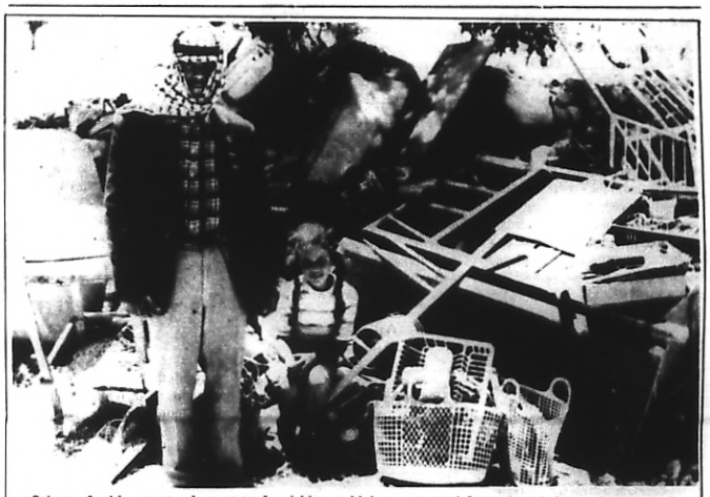
Lesley Caplan, chair of the Jewish community in Sydney, Australia, met Hanna Siniora in his office in East Jerusalem, along with Rabbi Moshe Hirsch, of Neturei Karta. Caplan heard the opinion and views of Neturei Karta with great surprise, claimed Rabbi Hirsch, who added that Caplan complained that he had never heard 'God's word' from Jerusalem on the national media, which is controlled by the Zionists.

Rabbi Hirsch told Lesley Caplan that the 'Palestinian' Jewish people, descendants of the pioneers and residents of the land 200 years ago, maintain good relations with the Palestinian Arab people; and he said: "There is no logical and just reason that a Jew from Sydney or any other Jew from the Diaspora should dictate to us the end of the good relations existing between the two semitic peoples living together in the Holy Land."

According to Hirsch, Caplan agreed with him that the goal of Zionism is to take over another people's land and exploit the Bible for unholy ends, and that this path is very dangerous and likely to bring about a new holocaust. Caplan and Hirsch agreed that it would be better to deny Meir Kahane publicity.

Caplan wished Rabbi Hirsch success in his work and promised to bring the message of Neturei Karta to the Sydney Jewish community.

Hirsch said: "In the future the God-fearing Jews will detach themselves from the Zionists, who will be isolated. Living in exile, the Jewish people mixed with other peoples and had a loyalty to the regime, such as the American Jewish community, who are an inseparable part of the American people. So too the Jews of Palestine are an integral part of the Palestinian Arab people."(Translation: Davar, August 7, 1984)



Salman Arab's son stands next to furnishings which were tossed from the windows of his father's home. Arab's home, near Gilo, was bulldozed August 7, leaving the family to seek refuge in tents /POP Photos

August 20-27

Tireh Festival for Palestinian Folklore at the Secondary School in Taibeh — Triangle. Palestinian Bazaar, Palestinian restaurant, *Beduin* tent, Folkloric items and Palestinian popular costumes. Evening entertainment of dance, song and theatre.

Saturday August 25 Nuzha/el-Hakawati presents *Ali the Gallean* at 8pm.

Bir Zeit Festival '84

Palestine village open 4:30-6:30.

August 24

Sandouk al-Ajjab theatre troupe from Ramallah presents *Ras Rus*, 8pm.

August 27

Al-Najah Singing Troupe — special solidarity day with Najah University

August 28

Shorouk Singing Troupe from Ramallah, 7pm.

August 30

Bir Zeit's theatre troupe presents *The Open Door*, 7pm.

At the Nuzha/el-Hakawati Theatre in Jerusalem

August 25

Story of a Palestinian village inside the 'green line' presented in song and dance by Arab students from the Hebrew University, 8pm.

August 28, 29, 30

The Battle of Algiers, directed by Costa-Gavras, 8pm. On August 30, 4pm and 8pm (French and Arabic — English subtitles).

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Education

than double that of their West Bank colleagues (see *Al Fajr* English, issue 214, June 8, 1984: 'West Bank Teachers Document Salary Erosion'). Jordan has continued to pay salaries (in JDs) for educators employed before the 1967 occupation (these people also receive Israeli salaries) but this number has dwindled to 7 percent of teachers. The rest are at the mercy of the Israeli government, which claims its budget cannot accommodate raises. The students suffer the brunt of this neglect, with good teachers leaving for better paying positions and those remaining either coping with a second job or remaining unrewarded for their efforts.

Supervision and inspection of teachers is supposed to be in the hands of the supervision department in Nablus. One visit per teacher per year is required from this department, except for new teachers. New teachers should be visited three times: on the first visit the inspector makes suggestions; on the second, demonstrates techniques; and on the third, writes a report.

Headmasters also submit confidential reports at the end of the year, which promotions are based on later. However, a new teacher who began teaching English in a private school this year said she never was observed in her class by her administration, while the Bethlehem ministry of education inspector made a 15-minute appearance only once during the whole year. Headmasters and teachers, then, are left basically to their own initiative in quality control. One government school headmaster in Jerusalem was himself teaching extra English classes to third secondary students and had devised his own system of 'head teachers' who were responsible for the quality of teaching in their subjects. He was also looking for a native English-speaking volunteer to work with teachers during the summer. In his view, principals, teachers and students were responsible for the quality of education, and he neither expected nor wished for more assistance from the education authorities.

A chronic problem, in addition to lack of supervision, involves teachers staying abreast of new developments in their fields. *Sawt al-Mu'allem* points out that the education department is responsible for teachers getting out-of-date in their fields. It points out that under Jordanian rule in the summer of 1966, when the number of teachers in both the east and west banks was 8210, there were 35 training courses for teachers, each lasting from two to six weeks, in which 1843 teachers participated. The courses included the subjects of administration, English language, mathematics, Arabic, library sciences, music and vocational training. Now, the GCGST states, no money is set aside for scholarships for teachers to continue their education, for conferences or publications where teachers can exchange new ideas and nothing is being done by district directors of education to provide lectures or make suggestions for upgrading teachers' performance. Teachers feel they are operating in a vacuum and students suffer the consequences.

Educational department officials counter that they have made attempts to update teachers through two teacher-training programmes — one held at Hebrew University's Mount Scopus campus two years ago for secondary teachers and a programme in Beit HaKarem for preparatory teachers one year ago. According to education officials, 10 teachers from every district were chosen for the courses by the district director, although they futilely insist there is "no checking whatsover" into the political background of teachers chosen. Education officials in the Ramallah district noted there are one-week summer seminars given by the English supervisor in that district. They stated that sometimes education officials in Nablus sponsor local courses, but these seem sporadic. These attempts at teacher retraining are obviously inadequate, not to mention favouring loyalists, since there are now about 8200 government school teachers in the West Bank.

continued next week

WEEKLY REVIEW

August 15, 1984

HEBRON ENGINEER IMPRISONED

RAMALLAH — Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Anwar Abd al-Mahdi Abdallah Uwaidah Abu Aisheh, an engineer from Hebron, to four months in prison and three years suspended on security charges. He was represented by advocate Mohammed Ibrahim AbuGhoush.

600,000 DUNUMS CONFISCATED

Israeli authorities have confiscated 450,000 dunums of West Bank land and declared them 'state land.' The head of the civil section in the Israeli attorney general's office is currently checking the ownership of another 150,000 dunums. According to Israeli estimations, about 600,000 dunums are being used for Jewish settlement, agriculture and industry.

JENIN LIBRARY CLOSED

JENIN — Israeli intelligence men raided the educational library in Jenin and closed it after confiscating some of its contents.

VICIOUS SETTLEMENT ONSLAUGHT IN TULKARM AREA

BEIT AMIN — Beit Amin, a small village in Tulkarm district, was the target of a vicious settlement onslaught.

Al Ittihad newspaper reported that Israeli settlers ploughed a piece of cultivated land owned by 85-year-old Mahmoud Ahmad Imar. The villagers chased the settlers out of the land — twice they returned under police escort — August 9. When the villagers protested, the police arrested 20 people. All but four villagers were released later. The following day, the police returned and beat Aisheh Mohammed Zaghloul and her husband. Five more people were arrested. Following are the names of the detainees: Saif al-Din Mahmoud Imar, Abd al-Ghani Mohammed Imar, Yousef Kamel Ali, Mohammed Sa'id Imar, Bassam Abdallah Imar, Atef Mohammed Ali, Najeh Uthman al-Sheikh and Ibrahim Abdallah Imar.

ISRAELI GRID TAKES OVER NABLUS ELECTRICITY

The Israeli authorities allowed the Israeli regional grid to hook up to the Nablus electric network in Wadi al-Tuffah area at the request of the Israeli military command in the West Bank.

IS3 MILLION TAX

JENIN — Israeli customs officials notified Ahmad Mohammed Gharib, owner of a grocery in Jenin, that he is to pay IS 3 million as VAT in addition to income tax and fines.

CORRUPT POLICEMAN

BETHLEHEM — A traffic policeman in Bethlehem personally 'owns' a separate police department and a post office. The policeman issues tickets to drivers and asks them to report to his 'court.' He keeps a ticket book and sends his friends to mediate with drivers to whom tickets were issued.

He 'fined' a driver JD100 and when the driver paid only JD75 the policeman went to his home to collect the rest. Following an altercation between the policeman and the driver's father over the money, the matter was reported to the police. The policeman is under arrest.

August 16, 1984

ISRAELI CARS STONED NEAR JERUSALEM

ANATA — A number of youths from Arab villages in the Anata area near Jerusalem threw stones at passing Israeli cars and attempted to block the streets. No damage was caused. The radio said Israeli forces detained a 12-year-old boy for investigation.

NO TRAVEL PERMITS IN TULKARM

TULKARM — Residents of Tulkarm have expressed discontent at the lack of travel permits in the Tulkarm post office. They pointed out that travel permits were being sold on the black market for high prices.

NABLUS YOUTH RELEASED

Israeli authorities released from detention 21-year-old Samir Hamdan from the Ein Beit al-Ma'a refugee camp after he was detained for 11 days at Fara'a prison.

NABLUS YOUTHS IMPRISONED

JENIN — Jenin military court sentenced three Nablus youths to prison. Hani al-Kharaz was sentenced to four months in prison and four months suspended; Bashar Mabroukeh to four months in prison and four months suspended plus a IS40,000 fine; and Haitham Hamdi Ilaiwi to three months in prison and two months suspended plus a IS50,000 fine.

YOUTHS IMPRISONED

NABLUS — Nablus military court sentenced Naser Nasif to eight months in prison plus a IS40,000 fine, Hikmat Ali Jamal Mabroukeh to six months in prison, Harbhi Ashour to four months in prison and Abd al-Rahman al-Sayeh to two months in prison.

ORDER NISI AGAINST DEMOLISHING RESIDENT'S HOUSE

Israeli High Court issued an order *nisi* preventing the military government and defence ministry from demolishing or sealing the house of Abdallah Kharboush from the village of Beit al-Fawqa, near Nablus.

The appeal was presented to the court by advocate Walid al-Fahoum after the Israeli authorities detained the son of the owner on charges of possessing explosives.

SWEDISH AMBASSADOR, CONSUL VISITS NAJAH UNIVERSITY

Sven Hirdman, the Swedish ambassador, and Arnold Shorm, the Swedish consul, yesterday visited Najah University in Nablus and met the president of the university, Hikmat al-Masri, and the head of the Public Relations Department, Sa'eb Erakat.

The Swedish officials discussed with al-Masri and Erakat the latest Israeli measures against the university and its closure for four months. They expressed their full solidarity with the university and their support for democratic freedom and education.

August 17, 1984

CLASHES AT BURJ AL-BARAJNEH CAMP

BURJ AL-BARAJNEH — The Lebanese army surrounded the Burj al-Barajneh Palestinian refugee camp near Beirut following a clash between Fatah elements and dissidents. The clash lasted for one hour and did not result in any casualties.

SHAKA'A CONDEMNS LINKING NABLUS TO ISRAELI GRID

NABLUS — Bassam Shaka'a, the dismissed mayor of Nablus, has strongly condemned the linking of the western parts of Nablus to the Israeli electric corporation grid. He said such a step harms the concession of the municipality, which is the owner of the electric company in Nablus.

Shaka'a added that there is no choice but to take actions to prevent linking Nablus to the Israeli grid.

Wahid al-Hamdallah, the dismissed mayor of Anabta, said the authorities' decision is illegal.

The plan to link Nablus to the Israeli electric grid will be carried out in three stages. First the western parts of Nablus — Anabta, Ramin, Beit Led, Deir Sharaf, Beit Eba and Zawata.

Poster titled 'A Cry,' by Jalal Dabit, from Ramallah, exhibited at the BZU model village this month/POP photo

Second, the eastern parts — Wadi al-Badan and the industrial area at Be'r al-Fara'a. The third stage will be linking the Old City and the nearby neighbourhoods.

YOUTHS IMPRISONED

NABLUS — Nablus military court fined Hatam Sunukrut of Hebron IS5000 on charges of participating in a heritage exhibition at Hebron University. He was represented by advocate Jawad Bulos, who attacked the authorities' policy towards Arab residents, saying, "What kind of offence is this? A student participating in an exhibition?! What rights are you talking of?"

The court also sentenced Maher Rantici, 14, of Ramallah, to 15 days in prison and a IS20,000 fine on charges of participating in two anti-occupation demonstrations and crying out "Palestine is Arab."

Another youth, Ibrahim Khalil, 14, of the Jalazon refugee camp near Ramallah, was sentenced to 45 days in prison and a IS20,000 fine on charges of throwing stones at an Israeli car passing near the camp.

TEACHER DETAINED

Israeli military authorities detained Mariam Hadib, a teacher from the village of Dora near Hebron, three weeks ago on charges of membership in Fatah and having contacts with the Fatah movement in Jordan, and transferring money from 'hostile' sides abroad to the West Bank.

The teacher has pleaded not guilty in court and said the authorities made up the accusations against her and detained her in order to have her dismissed from her job with no compensation after 14 years service.

The court refused advocate Jawad Bulos' request to release the teacher and ordered her remanded in custody until a charge sheet is submitted.

11 YOUTHS ARRESTED IN NAZARETH

NAZARETH — A spokesperson for the Nazareth municipality said Israeli police arrested 11 youths participating in the Voluntary Work Camp in Nazareth. The youths were accused of spending the night inside Israeli borders without permission. They were returned to the West Bank and are to be tried.

HOUSES RAIDED IN AISAWIEH

AISAWIEH — Israeli customs officials raided the houses of Ali Ubeid and Kathem Mustafa Ubeid in the village of Aisawieh near Jerusalem. They searched the houses and arrested the two owners, but later released them on JD1000 bail. They are charged with not paying the tax authorities a sum of IS7million.

NEW YMMA BRANCH IN ABU DIS

ABU DIS — A new branch of the Young Men's Muslim Association in Jerusalem was opened in Abu Dis. A special ceremony was held, which was attended by many residents.

DEMONSTRATORS RECEIVE KAHANE WITH NAZI SALUTE

HAIFA — Thousands of demonstrators in Haifa receivd MK Meir Kahane with cries of "Heil Hitler" and other Nazi salutes. A police force dispersed the demonstrators, who were members of Hashomer Hatzair and Hadash movements.

NO TRAVEL PERMITS IN JENIN

JENIN — For the sixth consecutive day, there were no travel permits in Jenin. Several residents working in Arab countries have been unable to leave the West Bank to return to work.

FOUR NABLUS RESIDENTS DROWN IN TEL AVIV

TEL AVIV — Three Arab women from Nablus were rushed to hospital yesterday after they drowned at the Tel Aviv beach. A man who was in the women's company drowned and has not yet been found.

August 18, 1984

ATTACK ON RAFIDYA RESIDENT

NABLUS — Unidentified individuals broke into the house of Haris Sayyed in Rafidya, Nablus district. The attackers beat members of the family in an attempt to force them to hand over money and jewels. When the thieves were unable to find anything valuable in the house they fled.

PROGRESSIVE LIST KNESSET MEMBERS VISIT NAJAH

NABLUS — A delegation of the Progressive List for Peace visited Najah University in a show of solidarity with its four-month closure. The delegation consisted of Knesset members Mohammed Mi'ari, Matityahu Peled, Nazareth lawyer Kamel Daher and economist Yacov Arnon. The delegation met with acting university President Sharif Kan'aneh and Public Relations Head Sa'eb Erakat. The delegation also met with the student union president and a number of university students.

Twenty French university professors, most of them Jewish, sent a telegram to Israeli defence minister Moshe Arens, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Labour Party head Shimon Peres. In their telegram, the French academicians expressed their anger over the university's closure and asked that it be reopened as soon as possible. The Sorbonne University in France also sent a telegram of solidarity to Najah University in which they expressed their hope that the university will be opened very soon.

BALATA YOUTH SENTENCED

NABLUS — The Nablus military court sentenced Abd al-Naser Mohammed Mahmoud Abu Dra'a, from the Balata refugee camp near Nablus, to seven months in prison and a IS40,000 fine on charges of demonstrating and throwing stones.

POLICE ASSAULT FIVE ARAB LABOURERS IN NAQAB

RAHAT — Five Arab labourers from the village of Rahat, in the Naqab, have been subjected to a racist and brutal attack by Israeli police searching the house of one of the labourers on the pretext that he had robbed a prostitute.

The Arab labourers, who work and sleep at the Neta'im moshav, were awakened by the police. They were then tied and beaten. One of the labourers was taken aside, made to lie face down on the ground and shots were fired near his head.

Kahane meets angry cries of 'Heil Hitler' and receives the Nazi salute from thousands of Arab and Jewish anti-fascist demonstrators in Haifa August 17.

REMOVAL OF JOINT-OWNERSHIP FILES DESTROYED

JENIN — A preliminary investigation into the break-in at Jenin's magistrates court has shown that hundreds of files concerning the removal of joint-ownership of lands in the West bank were destroyed.

'Unidentified' persons took the files to the roof of the court building and tore them apart.

August 19, 1984

UM AL-FAHM WON'T RECEIVE KAHANE

UM AL-FAHM — The Um al-Fahm local council rejected Meir Kahane's proposal to come to the village next week to discuss the 'problems' of the village with local *mukhtars*.

Kahane issued a statement saying he now wanted more than ever to visit Um al-Fahm. He said he will open an 'emigration office' for Arabs in the village.

The council cabled the Israeli prime minister, the Knesset speaker and the interior minister asking them to prevent Kahane from entering the village "Because this could provoke the residents...and we will not be responsible for the results of such a provocation."

MOLOTOV COCKTAILS THROWN AT ISRAELI CAR IN GAZA

GAZA — Two Molotov cocktails were thrown at an Israeli taxi in the Gaza market, Israeli military sources said. No damage was caused and no one was hurt.

ARAB BUS ATTACKED

JENIN — Two petrol bombs were thrown August 17 at an Arab bus carrying Arab labourers in the village of Araba near Jenin. No one was hurt and there was no damage. Police are investigating.

MILITARY ORDERS TO WITHDRAW CONSTRUCTION PERMITS

Israeli defence minister Moshe Arens issued new military orders authorising military governors to withdraw construction permits issued to residents and Palestinian institutions by local councils, municipalities and planning departments in the West Bank.

August 20, 1984

MORE SETTLEMENTS IN HEBRON

HEBRON — The authorities are planning two more settlements in the heart of Hebron, Israeli newspapers reported.

The first settlement will be established on an area of two dunums owned by the Abu Haikal family, near the Romedah settlement.

The authorities are studying the possibility of confiscating five dunums from the land of nearby Yatta in order to establish the second settlement.

AUTHORITIES CONFISCATE 100 DUNUMS

KHIRBAT BATIR — Israeli authorities announced yesterday their decision to confiscate 100 dunums from the small village of Khirbat Batir near Bethlehem. The confiscated land is owned by the families of Uwienah, al-Batha, Abu Harthyeh, Abu Ne'meh and al-Batmah. It is planted with olive trees, figs, almonds and grapevines. The nearest house is 50-100 metres away.

Settlers accompanied by border police yesterday built two rooms on the land and brought bulldozers and tractors in order to begin establishing the new settlement.

The authorities had confiscated 1000 dunums from the same village a year ago. The villagers petitioned the High Court but received no reply.

GAZA PRISONERS GO ON HUNGER STRIKE

GAZA — Detainees at the Gaza central prison declared a hunger strike to protest the prison administration's refusal to take one of the detainees, Mohammed Abd al-Razik, to hospital after he complained of acute pain in his leg. He was unable to move as a result. The International Red Cross has been informed.

GAZA LABOURER MURDERED IN TEL AVIV

A 50-year-old labourer from Gaza was stabbed to death in Tel Aviv at a construction site where he worked as a guard. His body was found by his workmates, who informed the police at once. A special investigation team was set up to investigate the murder.

YOUTH SENTENCED

LYDDA — The Lydda military court sentenced Sufyan Fares al-Ma'ayteh, 21, of Jerusalem, to three years in prison and three years suspended. He was charged with membership in an illegal organisation and was detained upon his return from abroad three months ago.

STUDENT SENTENCED

NABLUS — The Nablus military court sentenced Yousef Mohammed Ahmad Saleh, 24, a university student from the village of Sawyah, near Nablus, to one-and-a-half years in prison and two-and-a-half years suspended on charges of membership in in a Palestinian organisatiop and training in the use of weapons. He was represented by advocate Lea Tsemel.

THREE KHAN YUNIS YOUTHS SENTENCED

GAZA — The Gaza military court sentenced Nabil Mustafa Tamous, 20, and Ramzi Mahmoud Nasr Allah al-Akhras, 19, to two years in prison and two years suspended. The court also sentenced Mohammed Abdallah Suleiman Abu Tim, 20, to one-and-a-half years in prison and one-and-a-half years suspended. The three are from Khan Yunis. They were charged with throwing a petrol bomb at an Israeli patrol in Khan Yunis two years ago.

STUDENTS BOYCOTT GENERAL EXAM

RAMALLAH — The National Students Movement in Ramallah aborted the plot to impose the Jordanian ministry of education general exam on them. The students came to exam halls and tore up the exam papers. Large border police forces fired several shots in the air to disperse the students, and chased them through the streets of Ramallah.

August 21, 1984

YA'ABED PILGRIMS BANNED

Damyah Bridge authorities turned back all the pilgrims from Ya'abed and its district, preventing them from performing their *Haj* duty and causing losses estimated at hundreds of Jordanian Dinars which they paid to reserve places in Jordan.

The authorities also banned summer visitors from spending their vacation with their families and relatives.

Many Palestinian students studying abroad have not been permitted to visit their families in the West Bank.

FINE AND IMPRISONMENT FOR YOUTH

NABLUS — Nablus military court sentenced Jarar Yousef Abu Aloush, from Bidya, to four months in prison and a IS40,000 fine on charges of demonstrating and throwing stones.

NEW SETTLEMENTS IN HEBRON AND NABLUS

Two new settlements were erected, one in the Hebron hills which is called Karmai Tsur, three kilometres away from Halhoul, and the second in the hills of Nablus, called Bidwal. Eighteen families are already living temporarily in Bidwal.

YOUTH RELEASED

NABLUS — Israeli authorities released Mazem al-Jermy, 23, from Balata refugee camp near Nablus, after 18 days detention at Fara'a prison.

ARAB YOUTHS REMANDED

TRIANGLE — Three Arab youths from the village of Tirah in the Triangle were remanded in custody by an Israeli court for one week for investigation on suspicion of being connected to the murder of the Israeli soldier whose body was discovered ten days ago near Ya'abed.

ARAB CAR FIRED AT

ANABTA — An Arab car belonging to an Anabta resident was fired at when it passed near the Ariel settlement in the West Bank. The driver was not hurt and there was no damage.

Israeli police said they found no proof that shots were fired.

BURG: ISRAELI FLAG MUST BE RAISED OVER AL-HARAM AL-QUDSI

Israeli interior minister, Yosef Burg, said the Israeli flag must be raised over the station of al-Haram (al-Aqsa) guards. The Israeli flag was removed from the place three weeks ago. Burg promised to look into the matter.

Manar Said, with M.D., report on the recent poor *tawjihi* results and how they are just a reflection of how the appalling conditions of military occupation, Jordanian discrimination and lack of facilities contribute to the unequal struggle of West Bank students. This is the first in a two-part series to be continued next week.

West Bank Secondary Education: An Uphill Struggle

On June 13, 1984, 13,464 West Bank students sat for the second half of the Jordanian-run *tawjihi* (General Secondary School Certificate) examination. When the results were published in July, only 54 percent had passed. This pitiable pass rate is of crucial importance, not only because it determines the students' acceptance into West Bank and Arab universities, but because it illustrates the crisis Palestinian education is facing.

The roots of the crisis lie in Israeli control and its crippling influence on the government-run school system, which serves 79 percent of West Bank students, according to official Israeli sources. In contrast to first world or 'developed' countries, where an average of 87 percent of students finish their secondary education, expert West Bank sources put the figure in the West Bank at 40 percent. Although the percentage of Palestinians who go on to graduate from university is very high for a society still under colonial occupation — estimates range between 1.5 to 3.3 percent, compared to the 4.5 percent figure in the United States, or 3.4 percent in the USSR — the drop-out rate for secondary education is very high and only the extremely motivated or the privileged manage to get through the educational system at all.

The Educational System Structure

The education system on the West Bank was inherited from the Jordanians when Israel occupied the area in 1967. The Jordanian system, in turn, was modelled on the British system which influenced it during the Mandate period. The Jordanian system consists of 12 grades of 'primary,' 'preparatory,' and 'secondary' education — all geared towards the final matriculation exam — the *tawjihi*. There are three school systems functioning now and, as the West Bank is still treated as occupied Jordanian territory, they all answer to the Jordanian Ministry of Education, teach the same Jordanian curriculum and follow the same hierarchy of authority and control. However, since 1967 they have also been under the direct supervision of the Israeli military authorities' education officer for the West Bank, who is able to interfere at all levels of the educational process for 'security' reasons.

The three school systems are:

1) UNRWA schools serve 10 percent of students (mainly refugees) and only operate through the primary and preparatory levels. Although independently funded, they teach the Jordanian curriculum since they must follow the educational system of their host countries;

2) Private schools serve 11 percent of students and are sponsored by a variety of charitable or religious organisations. They teach all three levels of students, as well as offering supplementary curricula and exams, such as the London-sponsored General Certificate of Education (GCE), which can benefit their students;

3) Government-run schools serve 79 percent of students (including students from UNRWA schools who transfer to government schools for the secondary level).

In 1967, East Jerusalem schools, following annexation of the city, were instructed to follow the Israeli curriculum for Arab schools. In 1968, after facing difficulties in trying to impose this ruling, Israeli policy was changed and secondary students were allowed to choose between the Israeli curriculum and the Jordanian curriculum, with Hebrew added. In 1976, preparatory and secondary schools were changed totally back to the original Jordanian curriculum and now only government primary schools follow the Israeli curriculum in East Jerusalem.

An important structural feature of the Jordanian lower educational system is the policy of 'streaming' students at the end of their first secondary year (15 year olds) into three categories based on their academic performance, and *not* on choice:

a) The science stream is reserved for students who have an average of 70 percent or above in all their subjects — roughly 32 percent of students;

b) The literary stream is for all other students who pass their first secondary year — roughly 66 percent of students;

c) The vocational stream is for students who actually fail their first secondary year — roughly 2 percent of students. It is important to note that this category, with its low social prestige rating, prepares students for commercial, agricultural and industrial professions — all of which will be the essential backbone for the economy of an independent Palestinian state.

The percentage of students who manage to finish secondary school is determined not only by the quality and availability of good schooling, but also on the conflicting needs of a student's family in a developing, occupied and dependent economy. Unskilled but steady and relatively well-paid construction work inside the 'green line' still employs the largest sector of West Bank labour (55 percent in 1975) and is a major incentive luring students to drop out. Under Jordanian law, attendance is compulsory through the third preparatory level, but this is currently unenforced. Similarly, the shortage of Palestinian institutes of higher education — now starting to change due to the mushrooming of two-year private colleges — or the prevalent underemployment/underpayment of university graduates help dissuade students from continuing their secondary education, particularly if they are streamed into an 'unprestigious' category. Finally, the underfinanced and out-moded government school system itself wears down students' interest in their studies. Thus, although close to 100 percent of West Bank six-year-olds find a place in primary schools, 81 percent of them will advance to preparatory, 61 percent into secondary and only 40 percent of all West Bank youth will actually finish the secondary level. Of these, only 10 percent will enter university.

Tawjihi Test

The crucial *tawjihi* has long been criticised as an accurate test of a student's schooling. Nevertheless, it remains the pivotal point of West Bank education.

Teachers and headmasters were unanimous in their criticism of the *tawjihi*, which tests students' knowledge of certain books and texts and does not test students' capabilities in creative writing, science projects, organisational or artisitic ability, etc. Students' intellectual capabilities are evaluated only in terms of how well they can memorise the year's syllabus and perform on tests. Classroom work, then, becomes useless in the eyes of the students because their school work is not taken into consideration — except in the first secondary year — beyond the needs of the school in promoting them to the next grade. Hence, extracurricular activities are seen as low priority, even by students.

The temptation to memorise is only fostered by the booming home industry of producing study guides, which teachers and entrepreneurs sell to students to help them through the *tawjihi* syllabus. These guides pose model questions and answers which students commit to memory, hoping they will be useful in the exam. The Jordanian system, itself, is criticised for emphasising rote memorisation rather than critical thinking. The emphasis is also on high grades, which enable a student to enter a prestigious profession, rather than on creativity and individuality.

A quick look at the *tawjihi* results for the first half of the exam, broken down by schools, indicates that private schools have a much higher pass rate than government schools. For example, **Schmidt Girls' School (private) achieved** a 100 percent pass rate among science and literary students in the February English exam, while the Jericho Secondary School for Girls achieved a 12 percent pass rate among literary students and a 35.5 percent pass rate among science students. This great disparity in results holds for all subjects.

A report on the low *tawjihi* success rate and possible solutions by the *ad hoc* General Committee of Government School Teachers in the West Bank (GCGST), in their magazine *Sawt al-Mu'allem* (Voice of the Teacher), May 1984, graphs the decline in *tawjihi* scores since the beginning of the occupation. It notes that in the Hebron district the general average of success in February was 20 percent, "a real indicator of the level to which schools have sunk in the West Bank."

There are many factors which prevent students in government schools from performing as well as private school students. Curriculum is a problem for everyone. Teachers report that the curriculum, identical to that used in Jordan, has remained basically unchanged since 1967, although the military education officer has censored all textbooks and subject materials, forbidding any references to Palestinian identity and history. There have been some changes in the natural science textbooks, but, with Israeli censorship policies, it can take up to two years for a book to be approved.

Israeli Control Over Government Schools: Low Salaries and Funding

The problems the government schools face from faulty curriculum are only enhanced by the pathetically low funding which the government school system is now receiving. The Israeli government budgets less than the minimum to Palestinian education. *Sawt al-Mu'allem* cites the total neglect of classroom facilities, libraries, laboratories, sports facilities, extracurricular activities, etc. as another reason for student apathy, their low success rate and the high number of dropouts. Even the basics are lacking, such as enough classrooms, unbroken desks and teachers (the student/teacher ratio in 1978, according to Khalil Mahshi, an education expert, was 27.6:1). On top of this, essential teaching equipment, such as labs, libraries and sports equipment are run-down or simply non-existent in some schools.

During Jordanian rule, the library and laboratory situation was much better because schools received donations from private sources which helped in the purchasing of books and equipment, whereas now the Israelis have banned so many books that people, who are facing more financial hardships anyway, are discouraged from making contributions. In addition, the Jordanians used to exempt librarians, sports teachers and lab instructors from the full teaching load in order to permit them to fulfill their additional tasks. The Israelis, however, neither exempt nor compensate these teachers, who now have to teach these subjects on a purely voluntary basis. Many educators blame the district directors of education (there are six educational districts in the West Bank, the directors of which are directly answerable to the military education officer) for ignoring these needs and suggest that they, with their ability to budget funds, are not doing enough to overcome stagnation in the libraries, laboratories, sports and extracurricular actitivies. There simply are no extracurricular activities now.

These deprivations are common throughout all three levels of schooling. Teachers repeatedly emphasised that poor training in the primary and secondary levels was in large part responsible for low scores in the secondary levels. For example, English, a major subject in the *tawjihi* exam, cannot be learned without adequate library facilities, not to mention audio-visual materials. Science is the same — experiments are an essential teaching tool, but they require equipment.

Similarly, teachers, the major investment of an educational system, are being run down and ignored. Salaries — what keeps good teachers teaching — in West Bank government schools are now 50 percent of what government school teachers inside the 'green line' get and 65 percent of what Jordanian government school teachers earn. In addition, salaries, paid in shekels, are fixed for three-month periods, with no adjustment for inflation. In one year, from March 1983 to March 1984, West Bank government school teachers' salaries eroded in real terms from JD109 to JD88, while UNRWA and private school teachers' salaries, already 50 to 100 percent higher, rose slightly to JD227 and JD174 respectively. Government school teachers inside the 'green line' took a salary cut during the same period and still ended up with a JD180 salary, more

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